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Ibāḍism East of Mesopotamia

Early Islamic Iran, Central Asia and India

ABDULRAHMAN AL-SALIMI

المعهد الألماني للأبحاث الشرقية في بيروت

دار الفارابي

IBĀḌISM EAST OF MESOPOTAMIA

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GEGRÜNDET VON HELLMUT RITTER

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM

ORIENT-INSTITUT BEIRUT

BAND 51

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BEIRUT 2016

IN KOMMISSION BEI

KS KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG • BERLIN

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Bibliothek
Die Deutsche Bibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über https://portal.d-nb.de abrufbar

Für den nichtarabischen Raum: Klaus Schwarz Verlag Berlin
ISBN 978-3-87997-699-7

Für den arabischen Raum: Dar al-Farabi Beirut
ISBN 978-614-432-472-1

 Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Orient-Institut Beirut in der Max Weber Stiftung – Deutsche Geisteswissenschaftliche Institute im Ausland – aus Mitteln des Bundesministeriums für Bildung und Forschung.

Druck: Arab Scientific Publishers
Gedruckt im Libanon

This work is dedicated to my father Sulayman (1930-2001)

It is the hope of every scholar that a piece of written work will aid colleagues, students and general readers in the discovery of new and deeper understandings in the field. Each published work is like a strand. Thousands of strands of research form a collective web of knowledge. None of us weaves his strand into the web alone. This book was made possible through the support of many friends and colleagues. Their guidance, insights, hours of conversation about content, research assistance, editing work and sustaining friendships have enabled me to complete this presentation of "Ibāḍism east of Mesopotamia: Early Islamic Iran, Central Asia and India". I owe the deepest gratitude and appreciation especially to His Excellency Shaykh Abd Allah b. Muhammad al-Salimi. Also I extend my thanks to Abd Allah S. al-Salimi and all my brothers, Dawud, Hasan, Husayn, Abd Allah, Muhammad, Hamza, Ahmad and Hamad. And to my close colleagues with whom I am privileged to work: Heinz Gaube (University of Tübingen), Ridwan al-Sayyid (Lebanese University), Wadad Kadi (University of Chicago), Vanessa De Gifis (University of Chicago), Mandana Limbert (CUNY/ Queens College), Paul Starkey (Durham University), Wilferd Madelung (University of Oxford), Josef van Ess (University of Tübingen), Patricia Crone (IAS Princeton), Fritz Zimmermann (University of Oxford), Michael Jansen (University of Aachen), Michael Cook (Princeton University), Sabine Schmidtke (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), Muhammad El-Cheikh (University of Hassan II), Reinhard Eisener (Berlin). These friends have all made valuable contributions to this volume.

A very special thank you is due also to Stefan Leder for including this volume in the Bibliotheca Islamica series. Finally, I would like to acknowledge Astrid Meier, Syrinx von Hees, Monique Bellan and Caroline Kinj at the Orient-Institut Beirut for their kindness and patience in bringing this book to print.

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INTRODUCTION

During the last three decades, a number of valuable Ibāḍī and Omani texts, which had previously been unavailable, have come to light. The discovery of these texts has changed our views on classical Islamic history as well as on Omani history. They provide us with a picture of the intellectual world of Oman and Ibāḍism that differs from our previous views, which were based almost entirely on hostile sources. From this perspective, the present work is an attempt to study the literature of these Omani *siyar*. So far, few and limited studies have shown an interest in this field, despite the fact that this literature is a reflection of the socio-political history of Oman as well as the style of Omani and Eastern Ibāḍī writers.

This work has been written with two types of readers in mind: readers with a general interest in Islamic and Arabic classical literature, and specialists in Oman and Ibāḍism. It covers Omani relations with Central Asia in the 10th and 11th centuries and involves textual analysis and historical contextualization. The present study can be seen as a direct result of my research in the Sālimī Library and is essentially motivated by my discovery of three *siyar* manuscripts that had not been edited or published. These are:

1- the *sīrah* of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd al-Yaḥmadī to the people of Manṣūrah,
2- the *sīrah* to the people of Khwārazm, and
3- the *sīrah* to the people of Khurāsān.

These three *siyar* were written in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, and they provided new intellectual theories for the spread of Ibāḍī thought in Asia. This was the period in which the Omanis were able to restore their imamate after Oman had been under the hegemony of the ʿAbbasids, Carmathians and Buyids. Hence, this study begins with general and basic questions regarding the authenticity of these texts, with the aim of exploring the context to which these texts refer, which

might in some way prove the existence of Ibāḍī communities in Central Asia. The available classical Arabic geographical works, although fragmentary, provide interesting details regarding Ibāḍī toponyms in Asia. This information can add to recent studies by Madelung and van Ess, which cover a number of Ibāḍī locations in the East.

Much of the methodology of this study is based on a comparative method aimed at understanding the development of Islamic thought. Recently, there has been a tendency towards analysing classical Islamic texts as belonging to groups, rather than individuals. This approach has been embraced in such works as *Das Kitāb al-irǧāʾ des Ḥasan b. al-Ḥanafiyya* and *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie* by J. van Ess and *Early Muslim Dogma* by M. Cook. These two scholars have adopted similar criteria and strategies that are focused on examining classical Islamic texts through the comparison with other contemporary texts. Likewise P. Cuperly has examined several early Ibāḍī creeds in his work *Introduction à l'étude de l'Ibadisme et de sa théologie,* in order to demonstrate the development of Ibāḍī theology in North Africa and Oman. Cuperly's work studied the comparative theological issues in classical Islam that have been recorded by the early Ibāḍī epistles by presenting the main cases which were investigated among Ibāḍī theologians in both regions. A more recent work, *The Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān* by P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, selects one text as the object of study, using other texts to interpret it. They have chosen a different method, namely the comprehensive analysis of classical Islamic texts. Besides these works, J. C. Wilkinson produced two articles examining Omani texts concerning the Ibāḍī and Omani rules in East Africa in the $6^{th}/12^{th}$ century. Wilkinson's works may be considered as a first attempt of its kind to understand Omani history through the study of Omani texts. His perspective provides a general framework for dealing with historical analysis rather than focusing on the study of the texts themselves.

These different approaches to classical Arabic texts provide a characteristic framework and raise interesting questions regarding the interpretation of these texts. The approach to the *siyar* texts as they relate to the development of Islamic thought has influenced which of the testimonies can best be used to analyse the distribution of the Ibāḍī communities in Asia. Moreover, the development of the Ibāḍī movement has been reconstructed from these sources.

Chapters 1 to 3 provide three examples of Ibāḍī texts from Asia (Khwārazm, Khurāsān and Manṣūrah), making these texts available for further historical investigations rather than treating them as isolated epistles. Each of these three chapters includes an edited version and a translation of the respective epistle. The subsequent analysis of the text aims to provide a more detailed picture of how Ibāḍī thought spread in Asia through the examination of the expanding role of the second imamate of Oman. This is followed by a general discussion of the structure, content, terminology and sources of the epistle in question, including an analysis of internal values and literary parallels, in an attempt to determine the values governing it. In examining the three texts, I focus on such textual elements as divisions within the texts, formulae, and their incorporation of other sources (e.g. Qurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and poetry). These observations in turn raise general questions about the authenticity of the material in question and its significance for the development of Ibāḍī thought. This may appeal to those who are interested in Omani history and the formation of early religious trends in Iran.

Chapters 4 & 5 outline diachronic and synchronic discussions regarding the development of Ibāḍī thought in Iran and the social politics of Oman during the 10th and 11th centuries. I am concerned with both the historical and the intellectual dimensions of Ibāḍī activity. With regard to the former, I investigate the Ibāḍī and Omani historical contacts with other regions in Asia, examining the extent of Omani imams' and religious scholars' contacts with other areas outside Iran. I emphasize Oman's centrality in influencing some of the events in the historical period of the texts. With regard to the latter dimension, which involves the doctrinal aspect of the texts, I trace the expansion of Ibāḍī thought throughout Asia. In addition, I study the intellectual debates occurring in the *siyar* and the Omani socio-political context in which such debates developed.

To the best of my knowledge, no previous study has touched on this significant topic. The limited amount of research materials is only one of the numerous challenges I had to rise to in the course of my research and completion of this work. With this edition of three *siyar* I hope to shed some light on this neglected area of research on Omani history and Ibāḍī doctrine.

The following manuscripts and books contain the three epistles:

1 = O The manuscript belongs to the Sālimī Library in Bidiyah. It is part of the *K. al-Taqyīd*.[1] The book was compiled by Abū Muḥammad b. Barakah as a record of the notes that he had taken during sessions with his teachers, Imam Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 328/939) and Abū Mālik Ghassān b. Muḥammad b. al-Khaḍar. This manuscript is important, because it includes the earliest Ibāḍī opinions and citations from works written in Basra, some of which are considered as lost, such as *K. Abī Nūḥ Ṣāliḥ b. al-Dahhān*, *K. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ṣufrah*, and *K. Abī al-Ḥurr*. The title page carries the name of the owner of the manuscript, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ziyād b. Aḥmad, who states that he bought the book in the form of loose pages for two thousand four hundred dinars, on the last Sunday of Muḥarram 963/December 1555. However, there is a problem concerning the copyist's date. On the antepenultimate page the copyist's date is recorded as 7 Jumādā I 963 (18 March 1556) in the city of Buhlā. The bulk of the manuscript's text is written in the same clear and fluid *naskh* hand throughout and consists of 433 pages. However, there are many interpolations in the manuscript. For example, the handwriting is different from page 316 to the end of the book, and there are also additions of many independent monographs attributed to different authors. In addition to this, the number of lines per page varies from page 316 onward. Up to page 315 there are 22 lines per page; from page 316 onward the number of lines ranges from 21 to 26. The manuscript folio size is 28.5 x 19 cm.

The *sīrah* to the people of Khurāsān can be found on pages 88 to 98, and the *sīrah* to the people of Khwārazm on pages 135 to 136. The original was in fact completed on Wednesday, 5 Rajab 625 (10 June 1228), and the copyist was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ziyād b. Aḥmad b. Rāshid b. ʿUmar, apparently the same man who bought *K. al-Taqyīd*.

Another problem with this manuscript is that there are many lacunae on the pages. Furthermore, most of the folios are corroded. No other copies of this manuscript have been found, possibly because this particular copy was so expensive that the purchaser sought to prevent his original from being copied subsequently by other copyists. This manuscript is not mentioned in the standard Ibāḍī/Omani works, and it

(1) This work is also listed among the early Ibāḍī works by al-Barrādī, *al-Jawāhir al-muntaqāt*, 218.

may have been neglected, as have many other similar works. Accordingly, neither Omani historical nor jurisprudential sources mention these two *sīrah*s. They are neither included in the collection of *al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt* nor in other collections of Omani *siyar.* No attempt has previously been made to publish or edit either of them.

The Sālimī Library contains the only original manuscript. It is easier to read than to understand, and in many instances one can tell what the letters are, or might be, but sometimes they do not make sense. For this reason, the edited manuscript quotes other Ibāḍī epistles for elucidation, including the *sīrah* of Abū Ayyūb Wā'il b. Ayyūb. The latter text was used in the editing of *Nasab al-islām*, the second part of the epistle being used as a reference. The first copy of the *sīrah* of Abū Ayyūb is used in *al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*,(1) and the second copy is used in the Nizwā copy.(2) However, neither of them was used or considered as the original text; rather, they were utilized for purposes of correction and comparison to complete the original text, i.e. the al-Sālimī copy. A number of gaps leave the final text patchy in some places; this is inevitable due to the insufficiency of the original text. As a result, I have occasionally interpolated in order to clarify the text and convey a meaning that is as accurate as possible. I have also punctuated and vocalized the text, which originally lacks vocalization (*tashkīl*). I have broken the text into paragraphs, to enable the reader to follow the flow of the text more easily.

2 = S is located in the Sālimī Library in Bidiyah amongst a collection of Omani *siyar*. Unfortunately, the front of the book is torn and some of the leaves are missing. The manuscript was completed on Wednesday night 9 Ṣafar 1122/8 April 1710, in the castle of Ibrā(3) at the time of Imam Sayf b. Sulṭān al-Yaʿrubī (1692-1711 AD).(4) The copyist, Sālim b. Khamīs b. Sālim b. Nijād al-Maḥīlawī, says at the end of the book: "I wrote this book by myself." Each page has 26 lines. The manuscript is

(1) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 2: 46-61. This is the *sīrah* by Wā'il b. Ayyūb, *Nasab al-islām*. The editor of the book said that she used the copy owned by the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, and that this copy was completed on Thursday 7 Jumādā I 1009/13 November 1600.

(2) See the detailed analysis of the manuscript in chapter 2. The *sīrah* is by Wā'il b. Ayyūb and the topic is *Nasab al-islām*. The *sīrah* is on eight pages in the first volume (182-189).

(3) Ibrā is a district in Eastern Oman.

(4) See al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 2: 41; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, 92; Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman", 56.

part of a volume of 653 pages and includes 75 *siyar*, with an index of the *siyar* at the beginning. The book was written in *naskhī* script. The *sīrah* of Manṣūrah is number 44 in this collection and comprises ten pages (375-384). The title of the *sīrah* is written in red ink and states: "This is the revelatory *sīrah* of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd to the people of Manṣūrah in the Sind region." The main body of the text is written in black ink. The difficulty with this copy is that sometimes letters are written without their dots and there are occasional spelling errors.

3 = N The Nizwā copy, made by Aḥmad b. Nāṣir al-Sayfī in Nizwā is in private possession. It is part of a collection of Omani *siyar* entitled *Kitāb al-siyar al-ibāḍīyah*. The book was completed on Wednesday, 29 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 1114 (15 April 1703) and written in *naskhī* script. Black ink is used throughout. No mention is made of the copyist nor of the location where the book was written. The manuscript is bound in two volumes. The first volume includes 47 *siyar* and the second 29 *siyar*. Each volume contains an index of the complete collection. The *sīrah* of Manṣūrah is the 22nd *sīrah* in the second volume. This *sīrah* comprises 12 pages and each page, sized 9x29 cm, has 27 lines.

4 = C The copy belongs to the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture in Muscat. The collection comprises three volumes and the heading reads: "This is the book of *siyar* of the Maḥbūbī(1) Ibāḍīs." The first volume contains 195 pages, the second volume 191 pages and the third 186 pages. The *sīrah* of Manṣūrah is in the third volume, on pages 85 to 98. The copy was written in *naskhī* script in black ink. There are 24 lines on each page. The copy was finished on a Sunday in Muḥarram 1299 (December 1881). The copyist's name is Ḥamad b. ʿAlī b. Musallam al-Khamīsī, and on the final page he says: "Some of his student friends were taught by Muḥammad b. Sulayyim al-Ghāribī." The copy was made for Sultan Barghash b. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān al-Būsaʿīdī, the sultan of Zanzibar. It is clearer than the other manuscripts, but it contains many incorrect words, which were either taken over from the original manuscript or are to be attributed to the copyist.

5 = B *Kitāb Bayān al-sharʿ* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Kindī (d. 508/1114); this work consists of 72 volumes and was published by the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture (Muscat 1986-1993).(2)

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(1) This refers to Maḥbūb b. al-Ruḥayl, who was the last Ibāḍī leader in Basra.

(2) For more details, see Custers, *al-Ibāḍiyyah: A Bibliography*, 1: 230-231.

6 = P *Kitāb al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*; a collection of Ibāḍī epistles edited by Sayyida Kāshif Ismāʿīl, published in two volumes in 1984 by the Ministry of Heritage and Culture, Muscat. According to the editor, the edition is based on Ms. 1854, no. 2, in the manuscript library of the Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, written on 7 of Jumādā I 1009 (13 November 1600).[1]

I have fully punctuated and vocalized the texts; the originals lack vocalization almost throughout. Other sources have been used to help in the editing process, especially the Qurʾān.

(1) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 17.

مدخل

خلال العقود الثلاثة الأخيرة أبصرت النور مجموعةٌ قيّمة من النصوص العُمانية (وهي السِّير العمانية) والتي لم تكن في المتناول. والحال أنّ اكتشاف هذه النصوص عمل على تغيير وجهة نظرنا إلى التاريخ الإسلامي الكلاسيكي، وإلى التاريخ العُماني أيضًا؛ إذ وفّرت لنا هذه النصوص المُكتشَفة صورةً عن العالم الفكري لعمان والإباضية على وجه الخصوص، تعطينا نظرةً مختلفة تُغاير وجهات النظر السابقة، والتي كانت تستند في مجملها غالبًا إلى مصادرَ مُعادية. ومن هذا المنظور، فإنّ هذا العمل هو محاولة لدراسة أدبيّات السير العمانية. وإلى حدّ الآن، فإن الدراسات والبحوث التي أبدت اهتمامًا بهذا الحقل قليلةٌ ومحدودة، وذلك على الرغم من واقع أنّ هذه الدراسات إنما هي انعكاس للتاريخ الاجتماعي والسياسي لعمان، كما أنها تعبير عن أسلوب الكُتّاب العُمانيّين والإباضيّين بالمشرق (في العصور الأولى لبداية الكتابات الإسلامية).

إن هذا النوع من الكتابات والأعمال قد حظي باهتمام نوعين من القرّاء، هما: ذوُو الاهتمام العام بالأدبيّات الإسلامية والعربية الكلاسيكية، والمُختصُّون بالتاريخ العماني بعامّة والإباضي على وجه الخصوص. وتغطّي هذه الكتابات والأعمال حقبة القرنين العاشر والحادي عشر الميلاديَّين في صلات عُمان بآسيا الوسطى، كما يفيد التحليل النصّي والتنسيق التاريخي [أي وضع النصوص في سياقها]. ويمكن النظر إلى هذه الدراسة على أنها الثمرة الأساسية لبحثِي في مخطوط السير العمانية الموجود في مكتبة السالمي، وقد توّجَها اكتشافي لثلاث سِير مخطوطة لم يتمّ نشرُها أو تحقيقها قبل ذلك. وهي على التوالي:

١- سيرة الإمام راشد بن سعيد اليحمدي لأهل المنصورة بالسند.
٢- سيرة لأهل خوارزم.
٣- سيرة لأهل خراسان.

والحال أنّ هذه السير الثلاث قد كُتبت في القرنين الرابع والخامس الهجريَّين/العاشر والحادي عشر الميلاديَّين، وهي تقدّم لنا نظرياتٍ فكريةً جديدة عن انتشار الفكر الإباضي بآسيا. فقد كانت تلك الحقبة التي استطاع فيها العُمانيون إعادة إمامتهم بعد أن رزحوا لعقود تحت هيمنة العبّاسيّين والقرامطة والبُوَيهيّين. وبالطبع، فإنّ هذه الدراسة تبدأ بالأسئلة العامة والأساسية المتعلّقة بمدى صحّة نسبة النصوص، وذلك بغرض استكشاف السياق الذي تحيل إليه هذه النصوص، والنتائج التي تؤدّي إليه، أو بمعنًى من المعاني، إثبات وجود الجماعات الإباضية بآسيا الوسطى. ومع أنّ الأعمال الجغرافية العربية الكلاسيكية المتوافرة – على الرغم من تشتُّتها – لا زالت تمدّنا بتفاصيلَ مهمة عن أماكن وجود الإباضية بآسيا؛ فإنّ مِن شأن هذه الاكتشافات الجديدة أن تضيف شيئًا جديدًا إلى الدراسات التي قام بها سابقًا كلٌّ من ويلفرد مادلونغ، ويوسف فان إس، وباتريشيا كرون، وفرتز زيمرمان، والتي تغطّي عددًا من مواطن استيطان الإباضية بالشرق.

والحال أنّ جزءًا كبيرًا من منهجية هذه الدراسة يقوم على منهج مقارن يسعى إلى فهم تطوُّر الفكر الإسلامي، وذلك أنه قد برز مؤخّرًا نُزوعٌ إلى تحليل النصوص الإسلامية الكلاسيكية بوضعها في إطارٍ فكري وتاريخي موحّد يربط عدّة نصوص، تجاوُزًا لتحليلها المُفرد. وقد تمّ اعتماد هذه المقاربة في أعمالٍ من مثل: كتاب "الإرجاء" للحسن بن الحنفية، لفان إس، و"العقيدة الإسلامية المبكرة" من تأليف مايكل كوك. والواقع أنّ هذين الدارسَيْن تبنّيا المعايير والاستراتيجيات نفسها التي تُركّز على نقد النصوص الإسلامية الكلاسيكية عبر

مقارنتها بنصوص أخرى مُعاصِرةٍ لها. وكذلك بالمثل أنجز بيير كـوبرلي عمـلاً علميّاً رائعاً "مقدّمة لعلم الكلام الإباضي"، وذلك بدراسة عدة نصوص والـتي تعرف في المرحلة الإسلامية الكلاسيكية بـ "العقيدة"، وقد انتقى عدّة نصوص من عمان وشمال أفريقية، وكذلك من مراحل زمنية مختلفة لإبراز تطور العقيدة الإباضية حتى القرن ١٤/٨. وأحدثُ تلك الدراسات: دراسة كرون وزيمرمان، الموسومة بـ "سيرة سالم بن ذكوان"، والتي عمدت إلى انتقاء نصّ علـى أنـه موضوع الدراسة، واستعمال نصوصٍ أخرى قصد تأويله. فقد اختار مؤلّفاهـا منهجاً مُغايراً، هو منهج التحليل الشمولي للنصوص الإسـلامية الكلاسـيكية. وفضلاً عن هذه الأعمال، كتَب جون ويلكنسون مقالَين يُحلّل فيهما النصوص العُمانية الدائرة على الحكم الإباضي والعماني لشرق أفريقيـة خـلال القـرن السادس الهجري/الثاني عشر الميلادي. والحال أنه ينبغي عدُّ أعمال ويلكنسـون المحاولةَ الأولى من هذا النوع لفهم التاريخ العماني من خلال دراسة النصـوص العُمانية، وينبغي أن ندرك أن منظوره يمدّنا بإطارٍ عامّ للتعامـل مـع التحليـل التاريخي أكثر من التركيز على دراسة النصوص نفسها. وبذا فإنّ هذه المقاربات المتباينة للنصوص العربية الكلاسيكية من شأنها أن تمدّنا بإطـار نمـوذجي، وأن تُولّد أسئلة مهمة في تأويل هذه النصوص.

إنّ مقاربة نصوص السِّير – من حيث إنها تتّصل بتطوُّر الفكر الإسلامي – هي عملٌ كان له أثرُه في معرفة أية شهادات يمكن استعمالها الاستعمال الأفضل بغية تحليل توزيع الجماعات الإباضية بآسيا. أكثر من هذا، لقد تمّت إعادة بنـاء تطوُّر الحركة الإباضية بدءًا من هذه المصادر.

وهكذا، فإنّ السِّير الثلاث الأولى تمدّنا بأمثلة ثلاثةٍ عن نصوصٍ في وجود الإباضيّين بآسيا (خوارزم وخراسان والمنصورة)، فاتحةً بهذه النصوص دراسات من أجل استقصاءات تاريخية مستقبلية، ويتم التعامل معها أكثر ممّا لو كانـت

رسائلَ معزولة. وكلّ سيرة من هذه السير تتضمّن نسخةً مُحقَّقة للنصّ وترجمةً لها إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، والتحليل الذي يعقب الرسالة يهدف إلى توفير صورة أولى عن كيفية انتشار الفكر الإباضي بآسيا، وذلك من خلال فحص الدور الواسع لإمامة عُمان الثانية. وتعقب هذا كله مناقشةٌ عامّة لِبنية الرسالة المعنيّة ومحتواها واصطلاحاتها ومصادرها. كما يتضمن العمل أيضًا تحليلاً لقيمها الداخلية وموازناتٍ أسلوبية مع غيرها، وذلك كله في محاولةٍ منّا لتحديد القيم التي تحكمها. وأثناء فحص النصوص الثلاثة قُمْتُ بالتركيز على عناصرَ نصّية؛ شأن التقسيمات وصيغها وتضمينها المصادر الأخرى (مثل القرآن والحديث والشعر). وبالمقابل، انبثقت عن هذه الملاحظات تساؤلاتٌ عامّة تتعلّق بمدى صحّة الموادّ المعنيّة، ودلالتها بالقياس على تطوُّر الفكر الإباضي. وهذا من شأنه أن يثير التساؤلات لأولئك الذين يهتمّون بالتاريخ العماني وبتشكُّل النزعات الدينية المبكرة في إيران.

أمّا الفصلان اللاحقان (الرابع والخامس)، فإنهما يقدِّمان مناقشاتٍ تزامنيةً وتتابُعية حول تطوّر الفكر الإباضي في إيران وأوساط آسيا وحول السياسة الاجتماعية لعُمان خلال القرنين العاشر والحادي عشر الميلاديَّين. وقد انصبّ اهتمامي على البُعدين التاريخي والفكري معًا للنشاط الإباضي. وبالنظر إلى البعد الأول، عمدتُ إلى بيان الصلات التاريخية الإباضية العمانية بمناطقَ أخرى بآسيا، مُركّزًا على صلات أئمة عمان وفقهائها بفضاءات أخرى خارجية، كـإيران. كما ركّزتُ على مركزية عُمان في التأثير على بعض الأحداث في الحقبة التاريخية التي تحيل إليها النصوص. وبالنظر إلى البُعد الثاني الذي يتضمّن الطابع المذهبي للنصوص، فقد تتبّعتُ توسُّع الفكر الإباضي عبر آسيا. وفضلاً عن ذلك، درستُ المجالات الفكرية الواردة في السير والسياق الاجتماعي والسياسي العُماني الذي تطوّرت من خلاله هذه المجالات.

وبحسب مبلغ علمي، فإنه لا توجد دراسة قبل هذه ركّزت على هذا الأمر المهم؛ إذ إنّ العدد المحدود لموادّ البحث كان يُمثّل أحد التحدّيات التي كان عليّ مواجهتُها والتغلُّب عليها وأنا أنهض بالقيام بهذا البحث وإنجـازه. وبتحقيقـي ونشري لهذه السِّير الثلاث، أرجو أن أكون قد سلّطت الضوء على هذه المنطقة المُهمَلة من البحث في التاريخ العُماني والمذهب الإباضي.

هذا مع تقدُّم العلم أنّ المخطوطات والكتب التاليـة تتضـمّن الرسـائل الثلاث:

١=٠ ينتمي المخطوط الأول إلى مكتبة السالمي ببدية. وهو جزء من مجموع "كتاب التقييد"(١). وقد جُمع الكتاب من لدن أبـي محمد بن بركـة بوصـفه تدوينًا لتقييداته التي دوّنها عن سماعات شيخَيْه: الإمام أبـي القاسم سعيد بن عبد الله (توفّي ٣٢٨/٩٣٩) وأبـي مالك غسان بن محمد بن الخضر. وهذا المخطوط مهمّ غاية الأهمّية، وذلك بسبب كونه يتضمّن الآراء الإباضية المبكرة والأقـوال المُقتَبسة من أعمالٍ دُوِّنت بالبصرة، وبعضها عُدّ مفقودًا، ككتاب أبـي نـوح صالح بن الدهان، وكتاب عبد الملك بن أبـي صفرة، وكتـاب أبـي الحـرّ علي بن الحصين. وتحمل صفحة العنوان اسم مالك المخطـوط، عبـد الله بـن عمر بن زياد بن أحمد، الذي قال: إنه اشترى الكتاب مخرومًا مـن دون تجليـد بألفين وأربعمائة دينار، وذلك يوم الأحد آخر المحرّم ٩٦٣/ديسمبر ١٥٥٥، وهو منسوخ من النسخة الأولى للكتاب. بَيد أنّ ثمة مشكلةً متعلّقة بتـاريخ تـدوين النسخة، فعلى الصفحة السابقة على الصفحة ما قبل الأخـيرة دُوِّن أن تـاريخ النسخ هو ٧ جمادى الأولى ٩٦٣ (١٨ مارس ١٥٥٦) بمدينة بهلا. ومجمل نـصّ المخطوط مكتوب بالخط النسخي الواضح المسترسل نفسه، ويضمّ ٤٣٣ صفحة.

(١) وقد ورد ذكر هذا المخطوط أيضًا في العمل الإباضي المبكر لأبـي القاسـم الـبرادي "الجواهر المنتقاة فيما أخلّ به كتاب الطبقات" (القاهرة، ١٣٠٢/١٨٨٥)، ٢١٨.

على أنه توجد العديد من التداخلات في المخطوطة، بحيث نعثُر مثلاً على كتابة بخطّ مختلف من الصفحة ٣١٦ إلى نهاية الكتاب، كما أنه ثمة إدخال للعديد من التراجم المستقلّة المنسوبة إلى مجموعة من المؤلّفين المختلفين. وفضلاً عن هذا، يختلف عدد السطور في الصفحة الواحدة بدءاً من الصفحة ٣١٦ فصاعداً، فالقسم الأول من بداية المخطوط وإلى حدود الصفحة ٣١٥، حيث تضم كل صفحة ٢٢ سطراً، وأما القسم الثاني فابتداءً من الصفحة ٣١٦ فصاعدًا، ويتراوح عدد السطور ما بين ٢١ إلى ٢٦ سطراً، مع بيان أنّ حجم قياس صفحات المخطوطة هو ٢٨,٥ سم × ١٩ سم.

ويمكن العثور على السيرة لأهل خراسان ابتداءً من الصفحة ٨٨ إلى حدود الصفحة ٩٨، والسيرة لأهل خوارزم في الصفحات ١٣٥ إلى ١٣٦. هذا وقد تم الفراغ من تدوين الأصل بالفعل في يوم الأربعاء الخامس من رجب عام ٦٢٥هـ (١٠ يونيو ١٢٢٨)، وكان الناسخ هو عبد الله بن عمر بن زياد بن أحمد بن راشد بن عمر. وهو – على ما يبدو – الشخصُ نفسُه الذي اشترى كتاب التقييد.

على أنّ ثمّة مشكلةً إضافية متعلّقة بالمخطوطة، وتتجلّى في الخُروم التي لحقتها والموجودة في العديد من الصفحات. وأكثر من هذا، فإن العديد من السطور ممحُوّ. والحال أنه لم يتم العثور على نُسخ أخرى لهذا المخطوط مطلقًا. ولعلّ مردّ ذلك إلى أنّ هذه النسخة كانت من النفاسة بحيث ارتأى مالكُها حِفظها من أنْ تُنسخ من لدن نُسّاخ آخرين. هذا مع تقدُّم العلم أنّ هذا المخطوط غير مذكور ضمن الأعمال الإباضية المشهورة، ولهذا تمّ إهماله على غرار ما حدث للعديد من الأعمال التي تشبهه. ومن ثم، فإنه لا يوجد مصدر من المصادر العُمانية التاريخية والفقهية يشير إلى هاتين السِّيرتَين. كما أنهما ليستا متضمّنتين أيضًا في مجموع "السِّير والجوابات"، لا ولا في أيٍّ من السِّير العُمانية.

و لم تتم محاولةٌ قبل ذلك لنشر أو تحقيق إحدى المخطوطتين. توجد المخطوطة الأصلية الوحيدة بمكتبة السالمي، ومن السهل أن تُقرأ أكثر منه أن تُفهم. وفي العديد من الأمثلة يمكن للمرء أن يتهجّى الحروف المكتوبة كما هي، أو كما يفترض أن تكون، لكن في بعض الأحايين لا يعثر القارئ لها على دلالة. ولهذا السبب، تنقل النسخة المحقّقة أقوالاً من رسائلَ إباضيةٍ أخرى، وذلك بغاية التوضيح، بما في ذاك سيرة أبي أيوب، وائل بن أبي أيوب. مع العلم أنه تم توظيف النصّ الأخير في تحقيق "نسب الإسلام"، واستعمل الجزء الثاني من الرسالة بوصفه مرجعًا. وقد نُشرت النسخة الأولى من سيرة أبي أيوب في كتاب السير والجوابات[1]، والنسخة الثانية نشرت كمرجع في نسخة نزوى[2].

ومع ذلك، فإنني لم أُرد من استعانتي بالمخطوطتين السابقتين أن أحقّق النصّ الأصلي لسيرة أبي أيوب، وإنما استعملتُهما لأغراض التصحيح والتصويب، وذلك بغية استكمال ما انخرم من النصّ الأصلي من نسخة مكتبة السالمي. والحال أنّ العديد من البياضات والفراغات في مخطوطة التقييد يجعل النصّ مخرومًا في بعض مواضعه. ومردُّ هذا الأمر -بلا مِرية- إلى خُروم النسخة الأصلية. ونتيجةً لهذا الأمر فقد اضطُررتُ أحيانًا إلى التدخُّل بقصد توضيح النصّ أو شرح معنى، وحاولت جهدي أن يكون المعنى واضحًا ما أمكن ذلك. ثم إني قمتُ، فضلاً عن ذلك، بوضع علامات ترقيم النصّ وتشكيله حيثما كان ينقص الشكل. كما قمتُ بتقسيم النصّ إلى فقرتين، وذلك بقصد مساعدة القارئ على تتبُّع انسياب النصّ على نحوٍ سهل ويسير.

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(١) السير والجوابات، ٢: ٦١-٤٦. وسيرة وائل بن أيوب "نسب الإسلام". وقد ذكَرت مُحقِّقة الكتاب وناشِرتُه أنها استعملت النسخة التي تملكها وزارة التراث القومي والثقافة، وأشارت إلى أنّ هذه النسخة إنما كُتبت في يوم الخميس ٧ جمادى الأولى ١٠٠٩/١٣ يونيو ١٦٠٠.

(٢) انظر التفاصيل عن المخطوطة في الفصل الثاني. والسيرة باسم وائل بن أيوب، مُعنونة باسم "نسب الإسلام". وهي في ثماني صفحات بالمجلّد الأول (١٨٢-١٨٩).

٢=س يوجد المخطوط بمكتبة السالمي ضمن مجموع من السير العمانية. ولسوء الحظ، فإن غلاف المخطوط حدثت به تمزُّقات، وبعض الأوراق ضاعت منه. وقد تم تقييد المخطوط ليلة الأربعاء ٩ صفر ١١٢٢هـ/ ٨ أبريل ١٧١٠م في حصن إبراء[١] زمن الإمام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي (١٦٩٢-١٧١١م)[٢]. وقال الناسخ - سالم بن خميس بن سالم بن نجاد - في خاتمة الكتاب: "نسختُ هذا الكتاب بنفسي"، علمًا أنّ كل صفحة ضمّت ٢٦ سطرًا. والمخطوطة عبارة عن جزء من مجموع مكوّن من ٦٥٣ صفحة، وهو يتضمّن ٧٥ سيرة، مع فهرست بالسير في بداية المجموع. وقد كتب الكتاب بخطّ نسخي. وتحتل السيرة لأهل المنصورة الرقم ٤٤ بين المجموع، وتضمّ عشر صفحات (٣٧٥-٣٨٤). وكُتب عنوان السيرة بالخطّ الأحمر، وورد فيه ما يلي: "هذه السيرة الجلية للإمام راشد بن سعيد لأهل منصورة ببلاد السند". وجملة النص مكتوبة بالخطّ الأسود. على أنّ الصعوبة التي تواجهنا في هذه النسخة تكمن في أنّ الحروف مكتوبة أحيانًا بلا إعجام، كما أن ثمة أخطاء إملائية تظهر بين الفينة والأخرى.

٣=N نسخة نزوى - وهي نسخة يملكها أحمد بن ناصر السيفي بنزوى في مجموعة مخطوطاته. وهي ضمن جزء مجموع من السير العمانية يحمل عنوان "كتاب السير الإباضية". وتمّ الفراغ من الكتاب يوم الأربعاء ٢٩ من ذي القعدة ١١١٤/١٥ أبريل ١٧٠٣.

وقد كُتبت بخطّ نسخي، واستُعمل فيها الخطّ الأسود. ولا توجد فيها إشارة إلى الناسخ ولا إلى مكان كتابة الكتاب. وقد جمع الكتاب في مجلّدين،

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(١) إبراء: ولاية من ولايات شرق عمان.

(٢) انظر: السالمي، التحفة، ٢: ٤١، وابن رزيق: "الفتح المبين في سيرة السادة البوسعيديّين" [الترجمة الإنجليزية]:

G.P. Badger, *Imams and Sayyids of Oman*, p. 92.

وسرحان: حوليات عمان، ص ٥٦.

يضمّ المجلّد الأول ٤٧ سيرة، والمجلّد الثاني ٢٩ سيرة. وكل مجلّد يتضمّن كشفًا بالمجموع برمّته. وتُشكل سيرة المنصورة القسم ٢٢ من المجلّد الثاني. وتضم هذه السيرة ١٢ صفحة، وكل صفحة حجمُها ٩×٢٩ سم، وتضمّ ٢٧ سطرًا.

C=٤ مالكة النسخة هي وزارة التراث والثقافة بمسقط. ويضمّ المجموع ثلاثة أجزاء. ونقرأ في عنوانه ما يلي: "هذا كتاب السير المحبوبية الإباضية"[١]. ويتضمّن المجلّد الأول ١٩٥ صفحة، والثاني ١٩١ صفحة، والثالث ١٨٦ صفحة. وتوجد سيرة المنصورة بالمجلّد الثالث ما بين الصفحات ٨٥ و٩٨.

كُتبت المخطوطة بخطٍّ نسخي أسود. وتضم كلّ صفحة ٢٤ سطرًا. وتمّ الفراغ من النسخة يوم الأحد من المحرّم عام ١٢٩٩هـ (ديسمبر ١٨٨١). واسم الناسخ هو حمد بن علي بن مسلم الخميسي. وقد قال في الصفحة الأخيرة: "بعض من إخوته التلامذة تتلمذوا على محمد بن سليم الغاربي". وقد نسخ الكتاب للسلطان برغش بن سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي، سلطان زنجبار. والمخطوطة أوضحُ من سابقتَيها، غير أنها تتضمّن العديد من الكلمات المرسومة على وجه الخطأ، والتي بعضها انسلّ من المخطوط الأصلي، وبعضها يُعزى إلى الناسخ.

B=5 كتاب "بيان الشرع" لأبي عبد الله محمد بن إبراهيم الكندي (توفّي عام ١١١٤/٥٠٨). وقد ضمّ الكتاب ٧٢ جزءًا، ونشرته وزارة التراث القومي والثقافة (مسقط، ١٩٨٦-١٩٩٣)[٢].

P =٦ "كتاب السير والجوابات". وهو عبارة عن مجموع يضم رسائلَ إباضيةً قامت بتحقيقه سيدة كاشف إسماعيل، وتم نشرُه في مجلّدين عام ١٩٨٤

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(١) يحيل العنوان إلى محبوب بن رحيل الذي كان آخر زعيم إباضي بالبصرة.

(٢) للمزيد من التفاصيل تُرجى العودة إلى:

Custers, al-Ibādiyyah: A Bibliography, 1: 230-231.

من لدن وزارة التراث القومي والثقافة بمسقط. وبحسب المُحقِّــقة، فإنّ النسخة المُحقّقة اعتمدت على مخطوط ١٨٥٤ رقم ٢ الموجود في مكتبة المخطوطــات بوزارة التراث القومي والثقافة. وهو مخطوط كُتب يوم السابع مــن جمــادى الأولى ١٠٠٩ (الثالث عشر من نوفمبر ١٦٠٠)[١].

هذا وقد عملتُ على وضع علامات الترقيم للنصوص التي حقّقتها، وكذا قمت بشكلها حين كانت النصوص الأصلية تفتقــد إلى الشــكل في مواضــعَ كثيرة، كما أنّ مصادرَ أخرى تمّ استعمالها بغاية المساعدة في عملية التحقيق، لا سيما منها القرآن.

(١) السير والجوابات، 17:1.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

1- Text:

[…]	Additions to the text from a different manuscript.
﴾…﴿	Qurʾānic verses
"…"	Quotations in the text.

2- Footnotes:

S. Original text in the manuscript of the Sālimī Library.

+ Additions from other manuscripts.

– Text missing.

3- Translation:

The quotations from the Qurʾān follow Arberry's translation (*The Koran Interpreted*), with occasional changes.

B. *Kitāb Bayān al-sharʿ*

CHAPTER ONE

THE SĪRAH TO THE PEOPLE OF KHWĀRAZM

1.1 Introduction

The *sīrah* to the people of Khwārazm is enclosed in two folios interpolated between pages 135 and 136 in a manuscript of *K. Taqyīd* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Barakah (d. 355/966). The text was also included in the *K. Bayān al-sharʿ* by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kindī (d. c. 508/1114), which shows that the text is treated like a quotation from a book.[1] The epistle appears to record a discussion of a group of Ibāḍī *ʿulamāʾ*, including Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī. Reference to him appears at the beginning of the *sīrah*; there is also mention of another scholar, Jaʿfar Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. The style employed throughout the *sīrah* is known as *naql bi-samāʿ*, or narrative style.[2] Judging from the discourse, this epistle might have been the written record of a study circle (*ḥalqat al-ʿilm*), which included a number of missionaries (*ḥamalat al-ʿilm*). The document is overtly didactic in tone, beginning with questions posed by the missionaries. Abū Yazīd then advises his audience to fear God (*al-waṣīyah bi-al-taqwā*), a formulaic enjoinder that is common in introductions. Moreover, the text includes the kind of concluding remarks that might have been used at the end of a study circle or class. This text illustrates the sequence of development of Ibāḍism, since it preserves the ideas of four generations of Ibāḍī scholars until the 4th/10th century. This sequence begins in Basra and continues in Khwārazm. The following scholars can be identified:

1- The first is Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim b. Abī Karīmah (d. around 150s/760s), the second Ibāḍī imam in Basra.
2- The second in the chain is Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī, who was born in Khwārazm; he was a student of Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim.

(1) Al-Kindī, M., *Bayān al-sharʿ*, 3: 360-363.
(2) See Beaumont, "Hard Boiled: Narrative Discourse in the Early Muslim Traditions", 5-30.

Abū Yazīd is known in the sources for Ibāḍī *fiqh* as an ʿ*ālim* (scholar) and *faqīh* (jurist); one of his contemporaries says about him: "I do not know who analysed the question of blood issues (in Islamic law) at this time, either ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustum[1] in the Maghrib, or Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī in the Mashriq."[2] Regarding this issue, we should consider that Abū Yazīd might have come to Basra as a missionary student from Khwārazm in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and remained in Basra until the end of the century.

3- The third-generation scholars mentioned in the text are Abū Sulaymān, Ṣāliḥ, brother of Naṣr, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh, who were students of Abū Yazīd. These might well have been Ibāḍī missionaries to Khwārazm at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.

4- The fourth-generation scholar mentioned is Jaʿfar Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. He might have been a contemporary or a pupil of the second Ibāḍī generation of Khwārazm.

1.2 Commentary

The *sīrah* of Khwārazm contains the Ibāḍī theological opinions on divine unity and makes use of polemical phrases, for example, *fa-akhbirūnā*, *fa-in zaʿamtum*, *wa-zaʿamtum fa-hādhā khilāf*. These phrases are components in the dialectical style of the theological polemicists in classical Islamic literature. One of the main topics of debate in early Muslim theology among the scholars of Basra was the issue of the sins committed by prophets. Maḥbūb's debate with Hārūn b. al-Yamān during the imamate of al-Muhannā b. Jayfar (226-237/841-851) recounts that the jurists endeavored to prevent the theologians from answering people's questions regarding the sins committed by prophets: When asked, they replied that the prophets had been granted goodness from God in advance.[3] This issue of the prophet as a sinner may have been debated in Basra in the 2nd/8th century.[4] The Azāriqah sub-sect, the Bidʿīyah, argue that God will punish whoever sins, even a prophet.[5]

(1) *EI*², s.v. "Rustamid".

(2) Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 244.

(3) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawabāt*, 1: 319.

(4) Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 4: 2.

(5) Van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 69.

Ibn Ḥazm says that the Karrāmīyah and al-Bāqillānī from among the Ashʿarīyah agree that a prophet is capable of committing sins. However, the question here is whether the prophet would be punished for possible sins in the hereafter.(1) According to the belief prevalent among the *Ṭurayfīyah*, prophets can be sinners; if they repent of their sins, they are not considered as unbelievers. Thus they claim that the prophets who sin – even if it is only for a short period of time – would be considered as unbelievers for the duration of the sin.(2) Theologically, the debate on sin has become broader and tends to reflect the Khārijī, Ibāḍī and Muʿtazilī ideas on the subject.

The main source for the *sīrah* is the Qurʾān, with its verses serving as proof-texts. It can be said that until the beginning of the 3rd century Ibāḍism did not make use of *ḥadīth* to support theological opinions, even though the Ibāḍīs had a complete collection of *ḥadīth* in the *Musnad* of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb (d. 180s/790s). The second source is Qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), especially the commentaries on the story of Moses. The third source is the *āthār*, the opinions of the earliest Ibāḍī imams and scholars, since Abū Yazīd uses the phrase "Abū ʿUbaydah related to us that…".

According to the manuscript into which the *sīrah* of Khwārazm is bound, there is only one incomplete copy of this text, and no other textual source supplies the missing portion. This text is thus a faithful copy of an incomplete original. As a result, I have had to interpolate in order to improve the accuracy of the text. I have also supplied vocalization (*tashkīl*) and punctuation, since the original – for the most part – lacks both of them. The symbols and abbreviations used in the editing are intended to clarify the text and are listed above (see page 27).

(1) Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 4: 2-32.

(2) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 138.

1.3 The Text

هذا[١] [إلى] مَنْ كتبَ [مِن] أصحابنا [من] أهل خوارزم:

١– قالَ جعفرُ أبو عبدِالرحمنِ: إنّ أصحابنا –أبا سليمانَ– منــهم صــالحٌ أخو نصرٍ [و] أبو عبدِالله وغيرُه جماعةٌ منهم، أتَوا[٢] أبا يزيد، فسألوه عن هــذهِ المسائل، فأجابهم[٣] عنها[٤]:

٢– سألناهُ عن الذينَ[٥] سبقتْ[٦] لهم في علمِ الله الســعادةُ وهُــمُ اليــومَ مُقِيمون على الشِّرْك، هل عليهِمُ[٧] الغضبُ واللعنةُ[٨] مِنَ الله؟ وهل يُدفَعُ[٩] ذلكَ عنهم بالتوبة[١٠]؟

فقال: نعم، وتَبيانُ ذلك في كتاب الله عزّ وجــلّ في قولــه تعــالى[١١] في سُورة[١٢] آل عمران: ﴿كَيْفَ يَهْدِي اللَّهُ قَوْمًا كَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِيمَانِهِمْ وَشَــهِدُوا أَنَّ الرَّسُولَ حَقٌّ وَجَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ وَاللَّهُ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ * أُولَئِكَ جَــزَاؤُهُمْ أَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةَ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلاَئِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا لاَ يُخَفَّفُ عَــنْهُمُ الْعَذَابُ وَلاَ هُمْ يُنْظَرُونَ * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَابُوا مِنْ بَعْــدِ ذَلِــكَ وَأَصْــلَحُوا...﴾[١٣]

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(١) هذا: فهذا، B.

(٢) أتوا: اتو، O.

(٣) فأجابهم: فاحايهم، O.

(٤) عنها: بها، O؛ بها، B.

(٥) الذين: الدين، O.

(٦) سبقت: سبق، B.

(٧) عليهم: علهم، O.

(٨) الغضب واللعنة: اللعنة والغضب، B.

(٩) يدفع: ينفع، O؛ يرفع، B.

(١٠) بالتوبة: بالــوبة، O.

(١١) تعالى: –، O.

(١٢) سورة: –، O.

(١٣) O: "كيف يهدي اللهُ قوماً كفروا بعد إيمانهم وشهدوا أنَّ الرسولَ حقٌّ، وجاءَهُمُ البيّنــات" إلى قولهِ: "لا يُخفَّفُ عنهمُ العذابُ ولا هُمْ يُنظرونَ، إلا الذين تابوا".

(٣: ٨٦–٨٩) نزلتْ في الحارثِ[١] بنِ سُويد.

٣– وأُوصِيكُم بتقوى الذي لم يزَلْ عالِماً لم يعزُبْ[٢] عنه شيء، ولا يَحْدُثُ من[٣] شيءٍ إلاّ وقد كان به عالِماً، قبلَ أن يخلُقَ[٤] الخَلْقَ يَعْلَمُه[٥] فيهم. وخلَقَ الملائكةَ والنبيّينَ والمؤمنينَ الذين[٦] وُلدوا ونشأوا[٧] على الإيمانِ، وعليهِ ماتوا. فهؤلاءِ كانوا في وِلاية الله قبلَ أن يخلُقَهُم، ولم[٨] تنقطِع تلك الولايةُ عنهم.

٤– فأخبِرُونا[٩] عن أمرِ الله والدين: هل يتغيّرُ[١٠]، أم[١١] هو[١٢] قائمٌ على حالٍ واحدة؟

فإنْ زعَمْتُم أنه قائمٌ على حالٍ واحدة[١٣] لا يتغيّر[١٤] فقد أمَرَ اللهُ موسى أنْ يأمُرَ قومَه أنْ يقتُلوا[١٥] أنفُسَهم حينَ ظَلموا أنفُسَهم باتّخاذِهِمُ[١٦] العِجلَ، فقَتَلَ بعضُهم[١٧] بعضاً حتى بلَغَ[١٨] قتلاهُم سبعينَ ألفاً، ثم رَفع عنهم القتلَ وتابَ

(١) الحارث: الحرث، O.
(٢) يعزُب: يعرب، O؛ يغرب، B.
(٣) من: له، O؛ -B.
(٤) يخلق: يحلق، O.
(٥) يعلمه: بعمله، B.
(٦) الذين: الدين، O.
(٧) نشأوا: نشوا، O؛ ثبتوا، B.
(٨) ولم: لم، B.
(٩) فأخبرونا: فاخبرنا، B.
(١٠) يتغير: يتغيروا، B.
(١١) أم: لو، O.
(١٢) هو: وهو، B.
(١٣) واحدة: واحد، B.
(١٤) تتغير: تتعير، O.
(١٥) يقتلوا: يقــلوا، O؛ يقتلوه، B.
(١٦) باتخاذهم: واتخاذهم، O.
(١٧) بعضهم: بعصهم، O.
(١٨) بلغ: بلعت، O؛ بلغت، B.

عليهم. وأمرَ اللهُ محمداً صلّى الله عليه وسلّم أن يَنهى أُمّته أنْ يَقتُلوا أنفسَهم، فقال: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لاَ تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبَاطِلِ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَكُونَ تِجَارَةً[١] عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِنْكُمْ وَلاَ تَقْتُلُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِكُمْ رَحِيمًا[٢] * وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ عُدْوَانًا وَظُلْمًا[٣] فَسَوْفَ نُصْلِيهِ نَارًا وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرًا﴾ (٤: ٢٩–٣٠). فهذا خِلافٌ[٤] لِما زعمتُم[٥] أنّ ولايةَ الله للملائكةِ والنبيّينَ والمُقِيمين[٦] على الشِّرك الذين سبقتْ[٧] لهُمْ في علم الله السعادةُ واحدةٌ. وكيف يكونُ في ولايةِ الله مَن أَمَر اللهُ نبيَّهُ عليه السلامُ أَنْ يُقاتِلَهم ويَبْرأَ منهم، وقد قال: ﴿فَسِيحُوا فِي الأَرْضِ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِي اللَّهِ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْزِي الْكَافِرِينَ * وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الأَكْبَرِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ[٨] فَإِنْ تُبْتُمْ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِي اللَّهِ وَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ﴾[٩] (٩: ٢–٣). وزَعَمْتُم مَنْ لَعنَهُ اللهُ لا يتولاّهُ[١٠] أبداً، وقد قالَ اللهُ تعالى في الذين قَذَفُوا عائشةَ وصَفْوانَ[١١]: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ[١٢] جَاءُوا بِالإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٌ مِنْكُمْ لاَ تَحْسَبُوهُ شَرًّا لَكُمْ بَلْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ لِكُلِّ امْرِئٍ مِنْهُمْ مَا اكْتَسَبَ مِنَ الإِثْمِ وَالَّذِي تَوَلَّى كِبْرَهُ مِنْهُمْ لَهُ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ[١٣]﴾

(١) تجارة: تحارة، O.
(٢) رحيماً: رحما، O.
(٣) ظُلماً: طلما، O.
(٤) خلاف: حلاف، O.
(٥) لِما زعمتم: لمن زعم، B.
(٦) المقيمين: المتقين، O، B.
(٧) سبقت: سبق، O، B.
(٨) وأذان من الله ورسوله إلى الناس يوم الحجّ الأكبر: –، O.
(٩) وإن تولّيتم فاعلموا أنكم غير معجزي الله وبشّر الذين كفروا بعذاب أليم: –، O.
(١٠) يتولاه: يتولا الله، B.
(١١) وصفوان: وصفوان فقال، O.
(١٢) الذين: الدين، O.
(١٣) بل هو خير لكم، لكل امرئ.... كِبْره منهم له عذاب عظيم: –، O.

إلى قوله ﴿... وَلَوْلاَ فَضْلُ[١] اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَتُهُ مَا زَكَى مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ أَبَدًا وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يُزَكِّي مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ[٢]﴾ (٢٤: ١١-٢١). ثُمَّ قال: ﴿وَلاَ يَأْتَلِ أُولُوا الْفَضْلِ مِنْكُمْ وَالسَّعَةِ[٣] أَنْ يُؤْتُوا أُولِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَالْمُهَاجرينَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَلْيَعْفُوا وَلْيَصْفَحُوا أَلاَ تُحِبُّونَ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ[٤] اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ[٥]﴾ (٢٤: ٢٢) وقال: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ الْغَافِلاَتِ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ لُعِنُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾[٦] (٢٤: ٢٣).

٥- فأخبرُونا: هل كان حسّانُ بنُ ثابتٍ الأنصاري، ومِسْطحٌ[٧] قريبُ أبي بكرٍ، وحَمْنَةُ[٨] بنتُ جَحْشٍ، فيمن رَمَوا عائشةَ؟ وهل[٩] تابُوا، فَقبِل منهم النبيُّ صلّى اللهُ عليه وسلّم توبتَهم[١٠] والمؤمنون، أمْ لَمْ يَقبلوا منهم؟ وقولُ الله تعالى: ﴿وَالَّذِينَ[١١] يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْتُوا بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَاءَ فَاجْلِدُوهُمْ ثَمَانِينَ جَلْدَةً وَلاَ تَقْبَلُوا[١٢] لَهُمْ شَهَادَةً أَبَدًا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَابُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ ذَلِكَ وَأَصْلَحُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾ (٢٤: ٤-٥).

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(١) فضل: فصل، O.

(٢) ولكنّ الله يزكّي من يشاء والله سميع عليم: -، O.

(٣) ولا يأْتلِ أُولو الفضلِ مِنكُم والسَّعَةِ: -، B.

(٤) يغفر: يعفر، O.

(٥) ثم قال: "ولولا فضلُ الله.... والله سميعٌ عليم":-، B.

(٦) عظيم: عطيم، O.

(٧) مسطح: مصيطح، O؛ مصطح، B.

See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 3:347.

(٨) حمنة: حمية، O.

See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 3:347.

(٩) وهل: فهل، B.

(١٠) توبتهم: توهم، O.

(١١) والذين: وان الذين، O.

(١٢) تقبلوا: تفــلوا، O.

٦- وزعَمتُم أنه لا يتُوب ولا يُرحَمُ إلا مَن كان[١] لـهُ أصـلُ ولايـةٍ عندَ الله وليستْ عليهِ مِن الله اللعنةُ، وقد لَعَن اللهُ قوماً وغَضِبَ عليهم في كتابهِ ثُمَّ تابَ عليهم، كقول[٢] الله في سورةِ النَّحلِ: ﴿مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيمَانِهِ إِلاَّ مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالإِيمَانِ وَلَكِنْ مَنْ شَرَحَ بِالْكُفْرِ صَدْرًا فَعَلَيْهِمْ غَضَـبٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾ إلى قوله: ﴿لاَ جَرَمَ أَنَّهُمْ فِي الآخِرَةِ هُمُ الْخَاسِرُونَ * ثُمَّ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ لِلَّذِينَ هَاجَرُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا فُتِنُوا ثُمَّ جَاهَدُوا وَصَبَرُوا إِنَّ رَبَّكَ مِـنْ بَعْدِهَا لَغَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾ (١٦: ١٠٦-١١٠). فاتّقُوا اللهَ ولا تجعلـوا المشـركينَ أولياءَ حتى يتُوبوا ويَرجعُوا عن شِركِهم، فإنَّ الله قد بَـرِىء منـهم ورسـولُه والمؤمنون، حيث يقول: ﴿وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الأَكْبَـرِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ فَإِنْ تُبْتُمْ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ تَـوَلَّيْتُمْ...﴾ إلى قوله: ﴿... فَإِنْ تَابُوا وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلاَةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ فَخَلُّـوا سَـبِيلَهُمْ[٣]...﴾ (٩: ٣-٥).

٧- قالَ: وحدّثنا أبو عُبيدةَ: سُئِلَ: قيلَ: هل يتولّى[٤] اللهُ المشركَ الـذي سبَق[٥] في عِلمِه لهُ[٦] السعادةُ؟

قال: لا، حتى يُخرِجَه[٧] اللهُ[٨] من الشركِ، وكـان يقـرأ هـذه الآيـة: ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ آمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ ازْدَادُوا كُفْرًا لَمْ يَكُـنِ اللَّـهُ لِيَغْفِرَ لَهُمْ وَلاَ لِيَهْدِيَهُمْ سَبِيلاً﴾ إلى قوله: ﴿إِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ فِي الدَّرْكِ الأَسْفَلِ مِـنَ

(١) كان: كانت، O.
(٢) كقول: قول، O.
(٣) فخلُّوا سبيلهم: فإخوانكم في الدين، O.
(٤) يتولى: يتولا، O.
(٥) سبق: شق، O.
(٦) في عِلمه له: له في علمه، B.
(٧) يخرجه: يحرجه، O.
(٨) الله: -، O.

النَّارِ وَلَنْ تَجِدَ(١) لَهُمْ نَصِيرًا * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَـــابُوا...﴾ (٤: ١٣٧-١٤٦). فـــلا تأخذوا بقولِ الْمُستحدِثين(٢) ولا برأيهم، فإنهم(٣) أعداءُ الأديانِ والنبيّين(٤)، يقول الله: ﴿... وَمَنْ أَضَلُّ مِمَنِ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ بِغَيْرِ هُدًى مِنَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَـــوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ (٢٨: ٥٠).

٨- فنحنُ نتخوّفُ عليكم، ونَسألُ اللهَ البَرَّ(٥) الرحيمَ أنْ يُوفّقَنـــا ويلُـــمَّ شَعْثَنا، ويرُدَّ علينا إِلفْتَنا، ولا يُفرِّقَ جمْعَنا في الدُّنيا ولا في الآخرةِ، فإنّه وليُّ مـــا بِنا وبكُم، والسلامُ عليكم.

1.4 Translation

This is to our companions (*aṣḥābunā*)[6] in Khwārazm

1- Jaʿfar Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān says that our brothers (*aṣḥābanā*), who are Abū Sulaymān, Ṣāliḥ, the brother of Naṣr, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh and their group, came to Abū Yazīd and asked him about these issues, and he answered them [as follows].

2- We asked him about those who have already acquired salvation according to God's knowledge, but who today are polytheists. Are they to face God's anger and condemnation? And is this averted if they repent?

He answered, "Yes." This can be proven from God's Book[7] in *Sūrah Āl ʿImrān*: "How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved after they believed, and bore witness that the Messenger is true and the clear signs came to them? God guides not the people of the evildoers. Those, their recompense is that there shall rest on them the curse of God and of the angels and of men, altogether, therein dwelling forever; the

(١) تجد: تحد، O.
(٢) الْمُستحدِثين: الْمُبتدِعين:
According to the Prophet's *ḥadīth*: "كلُّ مُحْدَثَةٍ بِدعةٌ".
(٣) فإنهم: –، B.
(٤) النبيّين: السنن، O.
(٥) البرّ: البار، O.

(6) This term is used in the Ibāḍī compilations to refer to the Ibāḍī followers, as opposed to the term *qawm*, which refers to non-Ibāḍī Muslims.

(7) Qurʾān.

chastisement shall not be lightened for them; no respite shall be given them. But those who repent thereafter, and make amends." [(3:86-89); this verse was revealed concerning al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd].

3- I advise you to fear Him who always knows [everything], for nothing escapes [His knowledge]. Nothing happens except He has [prior] knowledge of it; before their creation, He knows about them. He created the angels, the prophets, and believers, who were born and raised faithful and died the same. They were under God's protection before their creation; this protection has never ceased.

4- Inform us about the order of God and religion: does this order change? Or does it remain [static] in one state?

If you claim that it is an order that does not change, then [you are wrong, for] God instructed Moses to order his people to destroy themselves when they corrupted themselves by worshipping the calf. They killed each other and the number killed was seventy thousand. God then lifted His order and forgave them. He also commanded Muḥammad (peace be upon him) to prohibit his people from destroying themselves, and He said: "O believers, consume not your goods between you in vanity, except there be trading, by your agreeing together. And kill not one another. Surely God is compassionate to you. But whosoever does that in transgression and wrongfully, him We shall certainly roast at a Fire; and that for God is an easy matter" (4:29-30).

This [verse] contradicts your claim that God's protection of the angels, the prophets, and polytheists who had previously acquired salvation in God's knowledge, be one [and unchanging]. How is it, then, that there are those whom God commanded His Prophet to fight and disavow! And He said: "Journey freely in the land for four months and know that you cannot frustrate the will of God, and that God degrades the unbelievers. A proclamation, from God and His Messenger, unto mankind on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage: God is quit, and His Messenger, of the idolaters. So if you repent, that will be better for you; but if you turn your backs, know that you cannot frustrate the will of God. And give thou good tidings to the unbelievers of a painful chastisement;" (9:2-3). You claim that whomever God curses, He never protects. As for those who made false accusations against ʿĀʾishah[1] and

(1) ʿĀʾishah bt. Abī Bakr was one of the Prophet's wives. She died in 57/676. *EI*^{2}, s.v. "ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr".

Ṣafwān,[1] He said: "Those who came with the slander are a band of you; do not reckon it evil for you; rather it is good for you. Every man of them shall have the sin that he has earned charged to him; and whosoever of them took upon himself the greater part of it, him there awaits a mighty chastisement" until He says: "But for God's bounty to you and His mercy and that God turns, and is All-wise" (24:11-21). Then He said: "Let not those of you who possess bounty and plenty swear off giving to kinsmen and the poor and those who emigrate in the way of God; but let them pardon and forgive. Do you not wish that God should forgive you? God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate." And then: "Surely those who cast it up on women in wedlock that are heedless but believing shall be accursed in the present world and the world to come; and there awaits them a mighty chastisement" (24:22-23).

5- Tell us, is it not true that Ḥassān b. Thābit al-Anṣārī, Misṭaḥ, Abū Bakr's relative, and Ḥamnah bt. Jaḥsh were amongst those who slandered ʿĀʾishah? Did they repent? And did the Prophet (peace be upon him) and the believers forgive them, or did they not? God says: "And those who cast it up on women in wedlock, and then bring not four witnesses, scourge them with eighty stripes, and do not accept any testimony of theirs ever; those—they are the ungodly, save such as repent thereafter and make amends; surely God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate" (24:4-5).

6- Furthermore, you claim that God forgives only those associated to Him [who have His protection] and they are not at all cursed by Him. [This is not true,] for in His Book He cursed the people who angered Him, then later He forgave them. In *Sūrah al-Naḥl* (bee), He said: "Whoso disbelieves in God, after he has believed—excepting him who has been compelled, and his heart is still at rest in his belief—but whosoever's

(1) The particular incident referred to here occurred on the return from the expedition to the Banū Muṣṭaliq, 5-6/624-625. When the march was ordered, ʿĀ'ishah was not in her tent, having gone in search of a valuable necklace she had dropped. As her litter was curtained, it was not noticed that she was not in it, until the army reached the next halt. Meanwhile, finding the camp gone, she sat down to rest, hoping that someone would come back to fetch her once her absence was noticed. It was night, and she fell asleep. In the morning she found Ṣafwān, who let her mount his camel and escorted her, leading the camel on foot. This gave occasion for enemies to raise a malicious scandal. The ringleader among them was the chief of the Medinese hypocrites, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, who is referred to in the last clause of this verse. See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyah*, 3: 345.

breast is expanded in unbelief, upon them shall rest anger from God, and there awaits them a mighty chastisement” until He says: “without a doubt, in the world to come they will be the losers. Then, surely thy Lord—unto those who have emigrated after persecution, then struggled and were patient—surely thy Lord thereafter is All-forgiving, All-compassionate” (16:106-110).

So fear God, and do not take unbelievers as friends unless they repent and leave polytheism, for God and His Apostle and believers have dissolved their treaty obligations with pagans. God said: “A proclamation, from God and His Messenger, unto mankind on the day of the Greater Pilgrimage: God is quit, and His Messenger, of the idolaters. So if you repent, that will be better for you; but if you turn your backs...” until He says: “But if they repent, and perform the prayer, and pay the alms, then let them go their way...” (9:3-5).

7- He[(1)] said that Abū ʿUbaydah[(2)] was asked: Does God sustain care for the pagan whose felicity had been preordained? Abū ʿUbaydah said: “No, not until He pulls him, the polytheist, out of his polytheism.” [To support his view,] Abū ʿUbaydah recited the following verse [from the Qurʾān]: “Those who believe, and then disbelieve, and then believe, and then disbelieve, and then increase in unbelief, God is not likely to forgive them, neither to guide them on any way,” until He says: “…surely the hypocrites will be in the lowest reach of the Fire; thou will not find for them any helper, except for those who repent” (4:137-146). So, do not accept the views or opinions of innovators, because they are the enemies of religion and the prophets. In this matter God said: “…and who is further astray than he who follows his caprice without guidance from God? Surely God guides not the people of the evildoers” (28:50).

8- We fear for you and ask the kind and merciful God to bestow prosperity on us, unite us, bring about felicity, and not to separate us in this world and in the hereafter. He is our sustainer, and peace be upon you.

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(1) Abū Yazīd.

(2) Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim b. Abī Karīmah.

CHAPTER TWO

THE *SĪRAH* TO THE PEOPLE OF KHURĀSĀN

2.1 Introduction

Upon investigation, it appears that this epistle is composed of two parts which differ somewhat in both style and content. This raises the issue of the epistle's authenticity. The first portion consists of a *fatwā* concerning *wilāyah* (association) and *barāʾah* (dissociation) with regard to some of the Prophet's Companions. This *fatwā* might have been a reply to questions from the people of Khurāsān about the doctrines of association and dissociation. Basically, the author uses a polemical style, which includes a long section in which he explains the fundamentals of the religion (*uṣūl al-dīn*). This style is employed in order to refute opposing views on the subject.

The second section comprises a tract entitled "The Genealogy of Islam" (*Dhikr nasab al-islām*). The main subject here is the Ibāḍī point of view on various issues of Islamic jurisprudence and theology. It also provides a general elucidation of Islamic faith, including manners of worship, laws governing human affairs, and legislation concerning various corporal and capital punishments. In fact, this epistle has many characteristics that can also be found in the *sīrah* of Wāʾil b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī, in terms of both content and style. It is worth noting that the title of the *sīrah* is also similar to that of Wāʾil b. Ayyūb, which carries the title *Nasab al-islām*. The problem is that Wāʾil b. Ayyūb al-Ḥaḍramī was an Ibāḍī scholar who lived in the 2nd/8th century,[1] while this letter was sent at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. This justifies the assumption that the author of the epistle to the people of Khurāsān used and quoted from the *sīrah* of Wāʾil b. Ayyūb and combined two *sīrah*s into one, with an introduction, main body, and conclusion. According to the *Jāmiʿ* of Ibn Jaʿfar (3rd/9th century), we find a quotation from *Dhikr nasab al-islām* by Wāʾil b. Ayyūb.[2] Al-Sālimī, in dealing with the explanation of the Ibāḍī creed in Oman (*ʿaqīdat ahl ʿUmān*), quotes extensively from the text of

(1) For further detail, see Crone and Zimmermann, *The Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān,* 308-309.

(2) Ibn Jaʿfar, *Jāmiʿ*, 1: 115.

Nasab al-islām.[1] In the last chapter of his work comparing North African creeds, Cuperly examines an Omani Ibāḍī creed published in *K. Kashf al-ghummah* as *ʿaqīdat ahl ʿUmān*. The text of *ʿaqīdat ahl ʿUmān* quotes from the *sirah* of Abū Ayyūb Wāʾil b. Ayyūb – a work with the title *Nasab al-islām*.[2] However, it appears that Cuperly did not see the text of *Nasab al-islām* as it was not available to him to consult in his examination.

2.2 Commentary

At first glance, it is clear that the *sīrah* is written in the form of a letter from one group to another. The authors were almost certainly a group of Omani ʿ*ulamāʾ*, because they say, "We are writing to you out of kindness," while the recipients are a group of Ibāḍīs in Khurāsān, for the epistle states, "For those who have written to us from among the people of Khurāsān". The epistle has no specific addressee and probably never had one, since it is really a letter to all of the Ibāḍīs of Khurāsān.

At the beginning of the epistle there is no *basmalah*. One cannot be sure whether this was a mistake made by the copyist, or whether the omission is merely a convention; some of the copyists of *siyar* generally did not use the *basmalah* to begin their copies. Thus the copyist might have omitted it on the grounds that the *siyar* were considered a single, self-contained corpus of literature. In that case, to mention the *basmalah* at the beginning of each epistle would have been superfluous. The *batrāʾ* genre of literature, namely that which starts without the *basmalah*, began in the Umayyad period, when letters or sermons appeared without this usual ritual prolegomenon.[3]

The *sīrah* starts with the obligatory *taḥmīd*, which is followed by a *waṣīyah bi-al-taqwā* (enjoinder to piety). This is a common feature of early doctrinal epistles and speeches, originating in Iraq or within the Iraqi sphere of influence.[4] Throughout the epistle the author uses the connectors *wa* and *aw* sparingly as well as attached personal pronouns, to evoke an oratory style. This could be due to the fact that the speech was transcribed by way of dictation; when this is the case, the copyist has to employ a style replete with *wa* and *aw* in order to give the final

(1) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 84-85.

(2) Cuperly, *Introduction à l'étude de l'Ibāḍīsme et de sa théologie*, 261-278.

(3) Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, 2: 6.

(4) Al-Jāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa-al-tabyīn*, 1: 118.

text literary cohesion. This *sīrah* has served as an influential model for many of the features found in later Ibāḍī epistles, dating from the 6th century through the 10th century. Examples include *Risālat al-diyānāt*, by al-Shammākhī,[1] and works by al-Kindī[2] and al-Kharāssīnī.[3] This style of writing has also been adopted by the likes of Ibn Qudāmah al-Ḥanbalī in treatises on the Ḥanbalī creed.[4]

With regard to the terminology and expressions used in the text, we can highlight two salient terms, the first being *nasab al-islām*. This is mentioned in several *siyar* texts, including the *sīrah* of Abū Ayyūb. The basic meaning of this term has been suggested by Khalaf b. Ziyād al-Baḥrānī (the first half of the 2nd/8th century), who says in his *sīrah*, "we shall remind you of God, and of Islam, which is the religion that is attributed to Him (*al-islām alladhī nusiba lahu*)".[5] This is also used by Hāshim b. Ghaylān in his *sīrah* to Imam ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayyid (207-226/823-841). This is a text he was compelled to write in order to educate the masses. It contains the following: "You should elucidate for them *nasab al-islām* (*wa-aẓhirū lahum nasab al-islām*) and educate them in what they should perform, namely that which is good, and in what they should eschew, namely that which is evil."[6] To illustrate the use of this term in a later period, we see in the *sīrah* of ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Sarrī (second half of the 5th/11th century), entitled *Fī al-farq bayna al-imām al-ʿālim wa-ghayr al-ʿālim* (On the Difference between a Learned Imam and an Unlearned Imam), that the author describes the possibility of appointing someone to the imamate even if he is known to commit sins. In such a case, the scholars will ask him to repent; if he does and, in addition, accepts the creed contained in *nasab al-islām*,[7] then his imamate is acceptable. Furthermore, this terminology is used in the *sīrah* inviting people to Ibāḍism. This epistle says: "You should elucidate for him *nasab al-islām*; only then is it possible to accept him."[8] All these quotations suggest that the usage of the term *nasab al-islām* in

(1) Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 249.
(2) Al-Kindī, A., *al-Ihtidā'*, 235-239.
(3) Al-Kharāssīnī, *Fawākih*, 1: 189-197.
(4) Daiber, "The Creed ('Aqīda) of the Hanbalite Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdisī", 105-125.
(5) See Chapter Three, on this *sīrah*.
(6) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 2: 37.
(7) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 406.
(8) *Al-Siyarwa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 389.

Abū Ayyūb's epistle is based upon the current usage among the Ibāḍīs in Basra. The text intends to educate the Ibāḍī followers about Islam, and possibly also about the means by which they can acquire such knowledge (i.e. the chain of transmission, or *isnād*). In so doing, the Ibāḍī would be sure in his belief and in the way in which he acquired it. Both of these postulates highlight two important points. The first is that we can see the early creed, or belief structure, of the nascent Ibāḍī community in Basra; the second is that we encounter the technical language used in religious texts that subsequently issued from Basra.

Juxtaposed with the first term, *nasab al-islām*, is the second expression, *al-manzilah bayna al-manzilatayn* (lit. the position between the two positions), which refers to the position of the grave sinner in Muʿtazilī terminology. This intermediate position is one of the defining characteristics of Muʿtazilī theology. At the beginning of the 3rd/9th century Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl and Hārūn b. al-Yamān, two Ibāḍī leaders in Basra, engaged in an extensive theological debate concerning the nature of sin. Hārūn classified sin according to three specific categories. The first type of sin is that which makes the perpetrator a disbeliever. The second type is that which, when committed, renders any judgment of belief or disbelief impossible. The third type is that which God forgives. Hārūn, in order to justify his own particular view, referred to the case of the Prophet's behaviour with regard to his wife, ʿĀʾishah, after the battle of Banū Muṣṭaliq. The Prophet abstained from expressing an opinion until the Qurʾān acquitted ʿĀʾishah of the allegation that was brought against her. Hārūn held that she was in a "position between two positions." What is the Ibāḍī perception of the precise nature of this intermediate position? According to al-Jannāwunī, the Ibāḍīs both believe and do not believe in the intermediate position. With respect to the latter stance, the Ibāḍī belief is that they do not accept any position between belief (*īmān*) and disbelief (*kufr*). With respect to the former stance, they do believe in the intermediate position, since they regard the grave sinner to be in a state of *kufr al-niʿmah*; conversely, the Muʿtazilah regard a grave sinner as a *fāsiq* (open sinner).[1] This concept may have a basis in the very early days of Ibāḍism. We can see in ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ's letter to ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān that the early Ibāḍīs split from the Khawārij, because the latter considered Muslims who

(1) Al-Jannāwunī, *al-Waḍʿ*, 14.

committed grave sins to be polytheists.(1) Abū Sākin ʿĀmir al-Shammākhī (d. 792/1389) states in his epistle, *Risālat al-diyānāt*, that:

„We hold that the state of hypocrisy is the intermediate position between faith and polytheism. We hold that hypocrites are neither believers nor polytheists. We hold that the polytheists are neither believers nor hypocrites. We believe that the believers are neither hypocrites nor polytheists. We hold that there is no intermediate position between faith and disbelief. We hold that he is an infidel-ingrate.“(2)

Al-Muṣʿabī (d. 1188/1774), on the other hand, notes that the Ibāḍī *Weltanschauung* and that of the Muʿtazilah with regard to the grave sinner are doctrinally similar, but differ in expression (*lafẓ*). The Muʿtazilah refuse to indict the Muslim on his *kufr,* even if he is a grave sinner.(3) This can be seen in the contemporary accounts of Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ during the period of the birth of Muʿtazilism. In the course of a lecture delivered by his teacher al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Wāṣil stated that the grave sinner is neither a believer nor a disbeliever; rather, he or she occupies an intermediate position.(4) To conclude this assessment, it is possible that the Ibāḍīs of Basra were influenced by the Muʿtazilah during the 2nd/8th century. Amidst the polemical discourse between the two parties, ideas must have been exchanged and either adopted in full or modified.(5)

As for the sources of this epistle, the most important one is the Qurʾān. The epistle quotes Qurʾānic verses liberally, which are usually prefixed by expressions such as *qāla Allāh* and *wa-qāla taʿālā*. Sometimes the verses are interwoven into the writer's own voice, so that the writer effectively coopts the Qurʾānic language to convey his own message. The epistle also contains fragments of Prophetic *ḥadīth*. The use of *ḥadīth* is frequent in the Ibāḍī epistles of the first period, for example, the *sīrah* of Sālim b. Dhakwān, the *sīrah* of Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyah, and the *sīrah* of Abū ʿUbaydah and Abū Mawdūd Ḥājib.(6)

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(1) Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 65.

(2) Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 251.

(3) Al-Juʿbarī, *al-Buʿd al-ḥaḍārī*, 522.

(4) *EI*², s.v. "Muʿtazila"; Watt, *Formative Period*, 209.

(5) Nallino, "Rapporti fra la dogmatica Muʿtazilita e quella degli Ibāditi dell'Africa Settentrionale", 455-460.

(6) See al-Salimi, "Identifying the Ibadi Omani Siyar", 115-162.

2.3 The Text

إلى مَن كَتب إلينا مِن إخوانِنا من أهل خراسان:

١– سلامٌ عليكم، فإنّا نَحمدُ إليكُمُ اللهَ، لا إلهَ إلا هو، عادلٌ في فضلِهِ، مُتفضّلٌ في عَدْلِهِ، حكيمٌ في فِعْلِهِ، لَهُ أحسنُ الأسماءِ، وأشرفُ المدحِ، وأحكمُ الأفعالِ، وأتقنُ التدبيرِ، بيدِهِ الخيرُ وهو على كُلّ شيءٍ قديرٌ.

٢– وإنّا نُوصِيكُم بتقوى اللهِ، الذي[١] نهاكم عنِ العمل بأعمالِ أهلِ النفاق، وأخذَ عليكُمُ العهدَ والميثاقَ على الوفاءِ له بأوامرِهِ وزَواجِرِه [التي] ابتلاكُم[٢] بها واختبرَكم [فيها]. فاتّقُوا اللهَ، واستقيموا كما أَمَرَكُمُ اللهُ، واذكُروا الموتَ والقُبورَ، والبعثَ منها والنُّشورَ والوُقوفَ، حيث ﴿تَبَرَّأَ الَّذِينَ اتُّبِعُوا مِنَ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوا﴾ (٢: ١٦٦)، و[يوم] يَعَضُّ[٣] الظالِمونَ على أيدِيهم أسَفاً على ما صنعُوا، ويُعادِي الخليلُ خليلَه إلاّ [المتقين].

٣– كَتَبْنا إليكُم بِرّاً منّا لكُم، وإجلالاً لِقدْرِكُم، وتعظيماً لِحقِّكُم، ونحنُ ومَنْ قِبَلَنا مِن المسلمينَ في سِترٍ مِن اللهِ ورغبة في إلفتِكم، وأهلُ ذلك[٤] أنتم مِنّا. أتمَّ اللهُ نعمتَهُ وِرادَفَها معكُم، ونحنُ ومَنْ قِبَلَنا مِنَ المسلمينَ في سترٍ مِن اللهِ، والحمدُ للهِ ربِّ العالمينَ، وصلّى اللهُ على رسولِهِ وسلّم.

٤– إنْ سألَ سائلٌ، فقالَ: أخبِروني عمّن كان في ولايةِ المسلمينَ إلى أنْ غابَ عنهُم أو ماتَ، ثُمّ شَهِدَ عليهِ مِن المسلمينَ بعدَ موتِهِ شاهِدا عدلٍ من أهلِ دعوتِهم، ممّنْ تَبَصَّر [في] الولايةِ والبراءةِ، أنّه أحدثَ حدثاً كَفَرَ بِهِ ثُمّ أقامَ على كُفرِهِ حتى ماتَ، ولَم نَعلَمْ أنه تابَ مِنْهُ: هل يَقبلُ المسلمونَ ذلك منهم على وَلِيِّهم بعد موتِهِ؛ لِقولِ مَن قالَ: إنَّ مَن ماتَ فقد ماتتْ حُجَّتُه؟.

(١) الذي: الدى، O.

(٢) ابتلاكم: بلاكم، O.

(٣) يعض: بعص، O.

(٤) ذلك: دلك، O.

٥- فإنّا نقولُ في ذلك ولا قُوةَ إلا بالله: أمّا إنْ كان المشهودُ[١] عليه إماماً مِن الأئمةِ الذينَ[٢] اختارَهُم[٣] فقهاءُ المسلمينَ للقيامِ بدولتِهم، فبايَعُوه على طاعةِ ربّهم، وسلَّموا إليه أمرَهم ودانُوا بولايتهِ، أو كانَ إماماً مِن أئمّةِ الدينِ الذينَ شَهُرَ فَضْلُهم مع المسلمينَ وأجمعوا على وِلايتِهم، مِثلَ عُمرَ بنِ الخطّاب، وعبدِالله بنِ مسعودٍ، وجابرِ بنِ زيدٍ، والجلندى بنِ مسعودٍ، والربيعِ بنِ حبيبٍ، ومحبوبِ بنِ الرحيلِ، وموسى بنِ عليٍّ، ومحمّدِ بنِ محبوبٍ، ومَنْ كانَ مِثلَهم ممّن لم نَذْكُرِ اسمَه معهم، فهؤلاء لو شَهِدَ[٤] عليهم أو على أحدٍ منهم جماعةٌ مِن الشهودِ[٥] - ولو كَثُرَ عددُهم - مِن بعدِ موتهِ أنّهُ كان أَحدثَ حدثاً قبلَ موتهِ كَفَر بهِ ثُم لَم يَتُبْ مِنهُ حتى ماتَ، لَمْ يَقبل ذلك المسلمون عليه، وكان في الحقّ الواجبِ عليهم أن يَبْرَؤوا مِنَ الشهودِ ثُم يَستتيبُوهم[٦]، فإنْ تابُوا رجَعُوا إلى منزلتِهِمُ التي كانوا عليها، وإنْ تَمُّوا على شهادتِهم تَمَّ المسلمونَ على البراءةِ منهم. ولو كانوا إنما شَهِدُوا على واحدٍ مِن هؤلاء الذينَ سمّيناهم معَ المسلمينَ في حياتهِ، [لم] يقبل ذلك المسلمونَ عليه، وبَرِئوا مِنه، ثُم استتابوه، فإنْ تابَ قَبِلوا منه، وإنْ أَبَى تمَّ المسلمون على البراءة مِنه.

٦- وكذلكَ أئمةُ الضلالِ الذينَ شَهُرتْ أحداثُهم مع المسلمينَ وأَجمعوا على البراءةِ مِنهم، مثلُ مُعاويةَ بنِ أبي سُفيانَ، و[٧]عمرِو بنِ العاص، ومَن كانَ مِثلَهم ممّن لمْ نذكُرِ اسمَهُ معهم. فأولئكَ لو شَهِدَ لكلّ واحدٍ منهم مِائةُ شاهدٍ[٨]، أقلُّ أو

(١) المشهود: المسهود، O.
(٢) الذين: الدين O.
(٣) اختارهم: احتارهم، O.
(٤) شهد: سهد، O.
(٥) الشهود: السهود، O.
(٦) يستتيبوهم: تستتيبوهم، O.
(٧) There is a gap in the manuscript.
(٨) أقل: واقل، O.

أكثرُ، من المسلمينَ أنه تابَ قبلَ موتِهِ مِنْ حَدَثِهِ، وأَقلعَ عنه، وأنَّ المسلمينَ رجَعُوا إلى ولايتِهِ، لَمْ يَقبلْ[١] ذلك المسلمون منهم، وكان في الحقّ الواجب عليهم أن يَبْرَؤُوا ممّن شَهِدَ بهذهِ الشهادةِ أو أحد منهم [و] أنْ[٢] يَستتيبُوهم، فإنْ تابُوا رجَعُوا إلى منزلتِهِمُ التي كانوا عليها معهم، وإنْ تَمُّوا[٣] على شهادتِهم تَمَّ المسلمون على البراءةِ ممّن سمّيناهم من هؤلاء الأئمةِ المُحْدِثين.

٧- والوِلايةُ لِمَنْ ذكَرْنا من أئمّةِ الدينِ شيءٌ أرَّثَهُ[٤] الأولُ للآخِرِ، وهو معروفٌ مع المسلمينَ شاهرٌ، قد فرقَ أمرُهم فيه، ويدعُو بعضُهم بعضاً إليه. وإنما لمْ تُقبَلِ الشهادةُ في هذينِ الوجهينِ[٥] خاصةً؛ لأنَّ في ذلك تكذيباً لمن تقدّمَ، فليسَ لأحدٍ مِن ذلكَ تكذيبٌ لِمنْ بَعدَه مِنْ أئمّتِكُم، وإبطالٌ لِدَعوتِكُمُ التي دَعُوتُم إليها، وبَرِئتُم مِمّن خالفَكُم عليها. فليس لأحدٍ أنْ يأتِيَ بخلافِ[٦] ما هُمْ عليه.

٨- وأمّا مَن كان مِن سائرِهم له ولايةٌ مع أحدٍ مِنَ المسلمينَ إلى أنْ غابَ أو مات، ثُمَّ شَهِدَ عليهِ شاهدا عدلٍ مِن أهلِ الدعوةِ ممّن يبصر الولايةَ والبراءةَ، في غيبتهِ أو مِن بعدِ موتهِ، أنّهُ أَحْدَثَ حدثاً كفَر بهِ ثُمَّ أقام عليهِ، ولمْ يُعلَم أنه تابَ منهُ إلى أنْ ماتَ، كان في الحقّ الواجب على مَن يتولاّهُ أنْ يَقبلَ شهادتَهُما[٧] عليه، [و] يَبْرَأَ منه. ولو كان كلُّ مَن ماتَ لمْ يَقبلِ المسلمونَ شهادةَ مَن شَهِدَ عليهِ بأحداثِهِ التي كفَر بها مِن بعدِ موتِه، ولمْ يَبرَؤوا منه عليها، كانَ يجبُ[٨] عليهم أن يعذُروا كُلَّ مَن نشاءُ مِن أهلِ دعوتِكم مِن بعدِ موتِ

(١) يقبل: تقبل، O.
(٢) أن: ثم، O.
(٣) تموا: أتموا، O.
(٤) أرثه: اثره، O.
(٥) الوجهين: الوحهين، O.
(٦) بخلاف: بحلاف، O.
(٧) شهادتهما: سهادتهما، O.
(٨) كان يجب: كانت تجب، O.

معاويةَ وعمرِو بنِ العاص بولايتِهم؛ لأنهم قالوا لكم: قد أجمعــتُم أنــتُم ومَــن خالَفَكُم على أنهم كانوا في الأصلِ أولياءَ، فنحنُ نتولاّهُم على الأصــلِ الــذي أجمعتُم عليه، وإنْ أنتم أقَمتُم عليهِمُ الحُجَّةَ[1] بإحداثِهِم، قالوا: لا نقبلُ مِــنكم؛ لأنَّهمُ قد ماتوا أو ماتت حُجَجُهم. فإنْ أنتُم عذَرتُموهم بولايتِهم إيّاهُم بعدَ قيامِ الحُجّةِ عليهم بإحداثهم، اتّسعَ عليكُم الفتقُ وبَطُلَتْ دعْوَتُكمُ التي فرقــتُم بهــا عمن قد ضَلَّ عنها مِنَ الخَلقِ[2]، فإنْ ضَيّقتُم ذلك عليهِم وبَرِئتُم مِنــهُم فقــد نقضتُم قولَكُم: إنَّ مَن ماتَ لَمْ تُقبَلْ عليه شهادةُ الشهودِ بعدَ موتهِ لحدثٍ كَفَر به. وقد سمعتُ مَن يقولُ مِن المسلمينَ: قالَ عزانُ بنُ الصقرِ: لو أنَّ رجُلاً نشــأَ في العراقِ، فسَمِعَ بفضائلِ عليٍّ بنِ أبــي طالبٍ، و لم يسمع[3] بإحداثِهِ، كان لهُ أنْ يتولاّه. فإنْ شَهِدَ معه شاهِدٌ بإحداثه، كانَ عليهِ أنْ يتبرّأَ مِنَ الشاهدِ، فــإنْ شهِد معَهُ شاهدانِ بإحداثِهِ كانَ عليهِ أنْ يتبرّأَ منه. وهذا دليلٌ علــى أنَّــهُ قــد وجَبَ[4] على مَن قد قامتْ عليهِ الحُجّةُ بإحداثِ عليٍّ بعدَ موتِهِ البراءةُ. وكــانَ عزانُ بنُ الصقرِ مِن فُقهاءِ أهلِ عُمانَ، وهذا الذي[5] نذهبُ إليهِ ونعتمدُ عليه.

٩- ذِكرُ نَسبِ الإسلامِ: اللهُ ربُّنا، ومحمّدٌ نبيُّنا، والقرآنُ إمامُنا، وبيتُ اللهِ الحرامُ قِبلتُنا، والإسلامُ دِينُنا، وهو مِن الإيمان، والإيمانُ من الإسلام، والتقــوى مِن الإيمان، والــبرُّ والوفاءُ مِن الإيمان، بعضُ ذلك مِن بعضٍ على اســتكمال[6] الإيمان بما فيهِ، وإقامةِ حُدودِه والعملِ بحُقوقِه. ولا يثبُتُ الإيمانُ بانتقاص فرائضِ اللهِ، ولا بالمقامِ على حرامِ الله.

(١) الحجة: الحجة، O.
(٢) الخلق: الحلق، O.
(٣) يسمع: سمع، O.
(٤) وجب: أوجب، O.
(٥) الذي: الدى، O.
(٦) استكمال: اسكمال، O.

١٠– والإيمانُ هو شهادةُ(١) أنْ لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ وحدَهُ لا شريكَ لـه وأنّ مُحمداً رسولُ اللهِ، وأنّ حقّاً ما جاء بهِ عن اللهِ، والإيمانُ باللهِ، واليومِ الآخِرِ، والملائكةِ، والكتابِ، والنبيّينَ، والجنةِ، والنارِ، وأنّ الساعةَ آتيةٌ لا ريبَ فيها، وأنّ اللهَ يبعثُ مَن في القبور، والأمرُ بالمعروفِ وإتيانُه، والنهيُ عن المنكرِ واجتنابُه، حيثُ أمرَ اللهُ(٢) ونَهى(٣)، كما بيّنَ في كتابه وأمرَ، مِنْ عَدلِ ذلك وحقِّه.

١١– وإقامُ الصلاةِ بمواقيتِها في الليل والنهار، بتمامِ رُكوعِها وسجودِها(٤)، وإحكامِ طُهورِها، وما يُقالُ فيها مِن لَدُنْ إحرامِها إلى إحلالِها(٥) بخشوعٍ ووَقارٍ. والشهادةُ(٦) لها في الجماعة(٧)، ولا يُقْنَتُ ولا يُؤَمَّنُ فيها، ولا يُمسَحُ على الخُفَّينِ عند الطهارةِ لها. وقَصْرُها في السفَرِ؛ والجَمْعُ في السفرِ جائزٌ(٨) لمنْ أرادَهُ. والجمعةُ في الأمصارِ المُمصرة، وعند أئمةِ العدل في غير الأمصارِ تجبُ على كلٍّ(٩) بالغٍ مُقيمٍ من رجالٍ أحرار. وصلاةُ الفِطرِ والنَّحْرِ، والصلاةُ على موتى أهلِ القِبلة مِن بعدِ غَسْلِهم وتكفينِهم، ثم دفنُهم في حُفرتِهم. ولا صلاةَ بعدَ صلاةِ الغَداة حتى تطلُعَ الشمسُ، ولا صلاةَ بعد صلاة العصر حتى تغرُبَ الشمسُ، إلاّ الناسي أو صلاة على مَيْتٍ.

١٢– وإيتاءُ الزكاةِ ممّا أوجبها اللهُ فيه مِن تلك الأصنافِ المعروفة(١٠)، تُؤتَى

(١) شهادة: سهاده، O.
(٢) الله: الله به، O.
(٣) ونهى: ونهى عنه، O.
(٤) سجودها: –، S، P.
(٥) إحلالها: ذلك احلالها، O.
(٦) الشهادة: السهاده، O.
(٧) الجماعة: الحماعه، O.
(٨) جائز: حايز، O.
(٩) كل: –، S، P.
(١٠) المعروفة: –، O.

على فريضة اللهِ[١] وسُنّةِ نبيّهِ[٢] لوقتٍ ومُنتهى وحِفظٍ وإحصــاءِ. وأداؤهــا إلى أهلِها القائمينَ بحقٍّ[٣] اللهِ الحاكِمينَ بعَدْلِه، الذين يَقسمُونَ بالسَّويّةِ، ويَعــدِلُونَ على الرعيّةِ، ولا يَحِيفُونَ في اللهِ ولا في حُكمِه، فأولئك أهلُها ووُلاةُ قِسْمَتِها[٤]. إلا مَنْ أَخَذها بغيرِ حقّها، أو وَضَعها في غيرِ أهلِها، وعَمِلَ فيها بغيرِ قِسْــمِ اللهِ وعدلِه، واستأثرَ بها لنفسه وأهلِه[٥]، وجعلَها ملاعب لِفرْجه وبطنه، وفي أهــلِ طاعته ومودّتِه الذينَ لمْ يَجعلِ[٦] اللهُ لَهُم فيها قِسْماً، ولم يفرِضْ لهم فيها سَهماً. فإذا[٧] لَمْ يكن إمامُ عدلٍ، أو كانَ في حيّزِ أهلِ الجَور، فعلى كُلِّ مَــن لَزِمَتْــهُ الزكاةُ في مالِهِ أداؤُها إلى أهلِها المُستحِقّين لها.

١٣- وصيامُ شهرِ رمضانَ وإقامةُ سُنّتِه، وما استحفظَه[٨] اللهُ من عفــافٍ وحِلْمٍ ووَرَعٍ وتنــزُّهٍ. وأداءُ زكاةِ الأبدانِ عن [كُلّ] إنسانٍ، صغيرٍ وكبيرٍ، حُرٍّ وعبدٍ، أنثى وذكَرٍ، صاعاً ممّا يأكُل. وحجُّ البيتِ الحرامِ مَنِ استطاعَ إليه سبيلاً. والبِــرُّ بالوالدَينِ، وصِلةُ مَن أمرَ اللهُ بصِلتِه مِن ذي رَحِمٍ، وجارٍ، وصــاحبٍ، وابنِ السبيلِ، وما ملَكتِ اليمينُ، ومَن جعلَ اللهُ لهُ حقّاً مُؤدًّى في دِينه، وإنزالُهم مَنازِلَهُم مِن الخيرِ والشرّ، والفِراقُ لهم والوِلايةُ على ذلك. لا إذلالَ لأحــدٍ في ذلكَ، ولا مُوادّةَ، ولا موادة لغيرِ[٩] تقوى حتى يُؤمِنُوا باللهِ ويعملــوا بطاعتِــه، وتلك السنّةُ فيمن[١٠] عصَى اللهَ، ولنْ تجِدَ لسُنّةِ اللهِ تبديلاً.

(١) الله: أخر، O.
(٢) سُنّة نبيّه: وصية بينه، O.
(٣) بحق: –، O.
(٤) قسمتها: قسمها، S، P.
(٥) أهله: لاهله، O.
(٦) يجعل: نحعل، O.
(٧) فإذا: واذا، S.
(٨) وما استحفظه الله: أستحفظ الله منه، S، P.
(٩) مُوادّة لغير: هوادة بغير، S.
(١٠) في من: فيمن، O؛ فمن، S، P.

١٤- وغضُّ البصرِ[١] عنِ الحرام، وحِفظُ الفروجِ عن الحرامِ وعمّا نزّه اللهُ المؤمنينَ وبرّأهُم منه. وسَتْرُ الزينةِ التي أمَر اللهُ بسَترِها فيما أمَر عبادَهُ وأدَّبهم به، الرجالَ منهم. وقد أمَرَ اللهُ النساءَ في بعضِ ذلكَ[٢] بما لم يأمُرْ بهِ الرجالَ من السَّتْر، وأنْ يَقَرْنَ في بُيوتِهنّ، ويَضرِبْنَ[٣] بخُمُرِهنَّ على جُيوبهنَّ، ولا يَضرِبْنَ بأرجُلِهنَّ لِيُعْلَمَ ما يُخْفِينَ من زينتِهنَّ، إلاّ ما ظَهرَ مِن ذلكَ ممّا لا حرامَ فيهِ ولا عَيبَ به، مِن كُحْلٍ في عينَيها أو خاتَمٍ في يدِها. فأيُّما[٤] امرأةٍ أبدَتْ سِوارَها بمِعصمِها، أو قِرْطَها بأُذنِها، أو خَلْخالاً[٥] بقدمَيها، أو شيئاً مِن سائرِ بدنِها سِوى وجهِها وكفَّيها لغيرِ ذي مَحْرَمٍ مِن الرجالِ لها؛ فهي عاصيةٌ لربِّها حتى تَتُوبَ من ذَنبِها. ولا يَشِمْنَ ولا يُوشَمْ لهنَّ، ولا يَفْلِجْنَ أسنانَهُنَّ، ولا يَصِلْنَ ولا يُوصَلْ لهنَّ، ولا يدْعِينَ بالويلِ عندَ مُصابِهنّ، ولا يَلْطِمْنَ خُدودَهُنّ، ولا يَخْمِشْنَ وُجوهَهُنّ، ولا يَنُحْنَ ولا [يُنَحْ] لهُنَ، ولا يَسمَعْنَ النُّوَاحَ[٦] تلذُّذاً به منهنّ، ولا يَسْفِرْنَ[٧]،[٨] عندَ غيرِ ذي مَحْرمٍ مِن الرجالِ لهنّ، ولا يتجرّدْنَ[٩] إلا عند أزواجِهنّ. واتقاءُ المَحِيضِ، واعتزالُ النساءِ حتى يَتطهَّرْنَ[١٠]، والاغتسالُ من الجَنابة.

١٥- والاستئذانُ في البيوت، وذِكرُ اسمِ اللهِ على الذبيحة، ولا تأكلوا[١١] ممّا لم يُذْكَرِ اسمُ اللهِ عليه فذلك حرامٌ، وكلُّ مُسْكِرٍ حرامٌ. والنِّكاحُ بالفريضةِ

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(١) البصر: النظر، S، P.
(٢) ذلك: –، S، P.
(٣) يضربن: يصربن، O.
(٤) فأيُّما: وأيما، S، P.
(٥) خلخالاً: خلخال، O.
(٦) النواح: النوح، O.
(٧) ولا يسفرن: +، O.
(٨) إلا: +، S.
(٩) يتجردن: جردن، O.
(١٠) يتطهرن: يطهرن، P، S.
(١١) تأكلوا: ياكلو، S.

والبيّنةِ(١) وإذنِ الوليِّ ورضى المرأةِ. ومُجانَبةُ نكاحِ مَن حرَّمَ اللهُ نكاحَهُ من أهلِ تلك المنازلِ التي بيّنها اللهُ في كتابه. والطلاقُ بالشُّهودِ، والعِدّةُ على سُنّةِ الطلاق، ولا تتّخذوا آياتِ اللهِ هُزُواً، والميراثُ بفرائضِ القرآنِ، ولا يَتوارَثُ(٢) أهلُ مِلَّتَينِ.

١٦- واجتنابُ الكَذِبِ(٣) وقولِ الزُّورِ وتوابعِهِ من القولِ الذي لا يُغْني القائلَ به، فإنّ ذلك مِن حُسنِ إسلامِ المرء. والتوبةُ إلى اللهِ من جميعِ الذنوبِ والخطايا، والإقلاعُ عن ذلك، والندامةُ عليه، والتبدُّلُ بهِ إحساناً ومعروفاً. والشهادةُ على مَن ضلَّ بضلالتِه، والخَلْعُ له، والبراءةُ منه، والبغضاءُ له والعداوةُ، إلاّ ما وسّعَ اللهُ في ذلك من التقيةِ في غيرِ إظهارٍ بالدعوةِ. والولايةُ لأهلِ الطاعة على الطاعة، والحُبُّ لهُم، والحِفظُ لغيبتهم بما حَفِظَ اللهُ، والعونُ لهم على البرِّ والتقوى كما أمرَ اللهُ ﴿... وَلاَ تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ...﴾ (٥: ٢)، واتقُوا اللهَ فيما أمَر اللهُ به ونهى عنهُ، ومراقبته في سِرّ ذلك وجهره. واعلمُوا أنّ اللهَ يعلمُ ما في أنفُسِكُم فاحذَرُوه. وتطهيرُ القلوبِ مِن حِقدِها وحسدِها، وتنزيهُ الألسُنِ عن مكروهِها، وعِصيانُ النفسِ في شرّ(٤) ما تأمرُ بهِ، وصدُّها عن سبيلِ هواها وما فيه رَدَاها، وذِيادتُها عن مَراتعِ هواها، وتنبيهُها من غفلتِها وسَهْوِها(٥)، ورفعُها عن ذلك إلى مَعالم(٦) الإسلامِ ومكارمِه ومنازلِ العالِمِين بالمُغالَبةِ في حُبِّ اللهِ(٧)، وفيه يُبَاحُ(٨) بنعمتِه لاجتماعٍ فيها على طاعتِهِ.

(١) البيّنة: السنة، S.
(٢) يتوارث: تتوارث، O.
(٣) الكذب: المنكر، O.
(٤) شر: سؤ، S.
(٥) سهوها: شهوتها، S، P.
(٦) معالم: معالي، S، P.
(٧) بالمغالبةِ في حُبّ الله: حب الله الغلبة، O.
(٨) يُباحُ: يتاح، S، P.

١٧ – وإقامةُ الحقِّ والقولُ بهِ للهِ لا لغيرهِ بما أمكَن من ذلكَ واستطاعَ السبيلَ إليه، ولزومُ سُنَنِ العدلِ وآثارِ أئمة الهُدى الذين أيّدَهُمُ اللهُ بعِزّه، وجعلَهُم في حِرْزِهِ، وهَداهُم بالنورِ. ووَطْءُ[١] العلمِ المأثورِ [عنهم]، والولايةُ لهم، والكينونةُ على سبيلِهم، ومعرفةُ فَضلِهِمُ الذي فضَّلَهُمُ اللهُ به، وتضليلُ مَن سِواهُم مِن أئمّةِ الضلالِ وقادة الفتنة، والفراقُ لهم على معصيةِ الله. والنصيحةُ للهِ في عبادِه فيما جَهِلُوا فيهِ وعَمُوا وأزاغُوا عنهُ وضَلُّوا عن سبيلِ رشادٍ وقولِ سَدَادٍ. والتذكيرُ لهم والتحذيرُ بتذكيرِهِمُ اللهَ وتحذيرَه، والذي جاءت بهِ رُسلُ اللهِ عُذْراً ونُذْراً. والنصيحةُ لعامّةِ المسلمينَ بالحكمةِ والموعظةِ الحسنةِ، يَدْعُونَ مَن أدبرَ، ويَقبلُون ممّن أقبلَ.

١٨– وقِتالُ مَن كذَّبَ بيومِ الدين، وبَغَى على أهلِ الدينِ من بعدِ بُلوغِ الدعوةِ إليه[٢]، واتخاذ الحُجّة عليه[٣]. لا نهاية لقتالِ أهلِ التكذيبِ حتى يُؤمِنُوا باللهِ، ولا[٤] لأهلِ البَغْيِ حتى يَفيئوا إلى أمرِ الله. وتغييرُ آثار الظَّلَمةِ وما أحدثوا من مُنكرٍ وابتدعوا وسنُّوا[٥] من ضلالٍ وشرَعوا خِلافاً عن أمرِ اللهِ وكَذِباً على الله. والردُّ على مَن قال: لا قدَرَ، ونازَعَ اللهَ في سُلطانهِ، وأنَّ الأمورَ مُفوَّضةٌ إلى العبادِ، وعلى مَنِ ادّعى[٦] الإيمانَ بالقولِ دُونَ العملِ[٧]، وعلى مَن سمّى أهلَ التوحيدِ والإقرارِ المُشركينَ، وعلى أهلِ التشبيهِ والتحديد، وعلى مَن قال بالرُّؤيةِ وأبطلَ[٨] الوعيدَ، وعلى مَن زَعَمَ أنَّ أهلَ المعاصي[٩] مِن أهلِ الإقرارِ يدخُلونَ

(١) وَطْءُ: وطي، O.
(٢) إليه: عليه، O.
(٣) واتخاذ الحُجّة عليه: +، P.
(٤) ولا: –، P.
(٥) سنُّوا: نصبوا، S.
(٦) ادّعى: ادعا، O.
(٧) العمل: الفعل، S، P.
(٨) أبطل: ابطال، O.
(٩) أهل المعاصي: –، P.

الجنةَ مِن بعدِ مصيرِهِم إلى النارِ، فكلٌّ[١] هذا عندَ اللهِ حَوْبٌ كَبيرٌ، وضَلالٌ لأهلِهِ[٢] وتخسيرٌ.

١٩- والحيطةُ مِن وراءِ الإسلامِ، والذَّبُّ عنهُ بما ألزمَ وكلَّف اللهُ فيهِ أهلَ النظرِ، وقامَ بهِ لله كما يعلم[٣]. والنصرُ حتى تكونَ كلمةُ اللهِ هي العاليةَ، وأحكامُه الجاريةَ. والصبرُ على مَكارِمِ[٤] الأمورِ [التي أمَرَ] اللهُ بها، والقيامُ للهِ بالقِسط، والشهادةُ على القريبِ والبعيد، ولا يأبَى الشهداءُ إذا ما دُعُوا، والحُكمُ بينَ الناسِ بالعدل، والوفاءُ بالعهدِ على الطاعة، ولا طاعةَ لِمَن عَصَى اللهَ، ولا وفاءَ بنَذْرٍ في معصيةِ اللهِ، ولا حُكمَ لِمن حَكَمَ بغيرِ ما أَنزَلَ اللهُ، ومَن لم يحكُم بما أنزلَ اللهُ مِن وُلاةِ الأمرِ فأولئك همُ الكافرونَ والظالمونَ والفاسقونَ. والعدلُ في الوزنِ والوفاءُ في الكيلِ، وتحليلُ البيعِ وتحريمُ الرِّبا، والمحافظةُ على الحُدودِ كُلِّها والمَحارمِ التي حرّمَها اللهُ مِن الأموالِ والأنفُس، إلا ما أحلّ اللهُ[٥] ذلك بحقّهِ وحِلِّه ممّا قد بيّنهُ في كتابهِ مِن المَناكحِ والمَطاعم والمَشارب. والتشديدُ في ذلك والتعظيمُ له كما عظَّمهُ اللهُ، فمَنِ ابتغى وراءَ ذلك وتَعدّاه عُدواناً وظُلماً كان له ما أوعَدهُ اللهُ مِن النَّكالِ والجزاءِ في العاجلِ، والعذابِ في الآخرة.

٢٠- وتحريمُ الرِّبا أضعافاً مُضاعَفةً، وترْكُ ما يُرتابُ فيهِ من ذلكَ[٦] ممّا لا سُنّةَ فيهِ ولا أَثَرَ. وأوحشُ الأمورِ ما لا شاهِدَ له مِنَ اللهِ ولا في كتابهِ ولا في سُنّةِ نبيِّه، ولا أثرَ مِن أفاضلِ الصحابةِ. وأوحشُ البيعِ ما لا أجْرَ[٧] في ثوابهِ.

(١) فكلّ: وكل، O.
(٢) لأهله: بأهله، S، P.
(٣) أهل العلم والبصر: +، P.
(٤) مكارم: مكاره، O.
(٥) الله: الله من، S، P.
(٦) ذلك: –، O.
(٧) أجر: جزاء، S، P.

والوقوفُ عِند الشُّبُهات، والأخذُ بالبيّناتِ النيّرات، وطلبُ عِلمِ ما لا عُذرَ بجَهالتِه[١]، والعلمُ والعملُ بما علّمَ اللهُ، واتّباعُ ما هَدَى اللهُ[٢] له، والاتّساعُ بما وَسّعَ اللهُ في دينه، والأخذُ[٣] بتيسيرِه، وما مَنَّ اللهُ بهِ مِن رحمتِه فيما أرادَ لعبادِه باليُسرِ[٤]، وما جعَلَ لهُم فيه العُذرَ، وإظهارُ النِّعمةِ والثناءُ على الله بها، والمعرفةُ لها، والشكرُ عليها. وتركُ الخُيَلاءِ ووَضْعُ الفَخرِ والكِبْرِ، ومُجانَبةُ أخلاقِ الكُفرِ في العلانيةِ والسِّرّ، والنزولُ عند العلوم[٥] على اللهِ، وعلى أهلِ دينِهِ[٦]، والاستكانةُ لهُ والتواضعُ وحُسنُ السمةِ والتخشُّع، وإظهارُ[٧] الرغبةِ إليه بالتضرُّعِ، والتعظيمُ للقولِ على الله بغيرِ الحقِّ وبما لا يَعلمون. ولا يُسفَكُ دمٌ بغيرِ حِلِّه، ولا يُقتلُ مُؤمنٌ ولا يُعانُ على قتلِه ﴿وَمَنْ يَقْتُلْ مُؤْمِنًا مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَغَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَعَنَهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُ عَذَابًا عَظِيمًا[٨]﴾ (٤: ٩٣).

وفَرْقُ الرأسِ وقَصُّ الشارِب، والسواكُ والمَضْمَضةُ والاستنشاقُ، ونَتْفُ الإبْطِ وقَصُّ الأظافرِ وحَلْقُ العانَةِ، والخِتانُ والاستنجاءُ من أثرِ البولِ والغائط. وتحريمُ ما حرّمَ اللهُ في حَرَمِه وعلى المؤمنينَ مِن حجٍّ[٩] بيتِه في حينِ ذلك، ووقتُه إلى منتهى[١٠] الإحلالِ منه، واجتنابُ ما نهى اللهُ عنه هُنالك مِن الرَّفَثِ والفُسوقِ

(١) ما لا عُذْر له بجهالتِهِ: بجهالته علم ما لا، S، P.

(٢) واتّباعُ مَا هدى اللهُ: +، S، P.

(٣) والاتّساعُ بما وَسّعَ اللهُ في دينِهِ، والأخذُ: –، O.

(٤) باليسر: البشر، O.

(٥) العلوم: الغلو، S، P.

(٦) أهل دينه: أهل نبيه، O.

In Ibāḍite theology the term *ahl al-bayt* (Holy Home) is usually believed to include all Muslims, in contrast the term comprises in Shiite ideology the Prophet's relatives, especially his grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. For more details on this issue, see al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Mashāriq anwār al-ʿuqūl*, 41.

(٧) إظهار: اطهار، O.

(٨) أعــدَّ لهُ عذاباً عظيماً: جهنم وسأت مصيرا، S، P.

(٩) حجّ: حاج، O.

(١٠) منتهى: مثلها، O.

والجدالِ في الحجّ، في مُباشَرةٍ وحُسنِ هَدْيٍ وذِكرِ اللهِ كثيراً، والانتهاءُ عن لَمْزِ المؤمنينَ والطعنِ عليهم، والغيبةِ لهم وسُوءِ الظنّ بهم، والتجسُّسِ لعوراتِهم، والأذى لهم بغيرِ ما اكتسبوا، ذلك الذي يُحبطُ اللهُ بهِ الأعمالَ، ويُحتملُ به الآثامُ والبهتانُ، ويَصِيرُ بأهلهِ إلى الخُسرانِ. وتأديةُ حقوقِ المؤمنينَ إليهم، من الحِفظِ والمودّةِ والاستغفارِ لهم في المَحْيا والمماتِ، وبذلك فضّلَ بينَ المؤمنينَ، وعليهِ[1] ألّف بينَ قُلُوبِهِم.

٢١- وتحريمُ ولايةِ أهلِ المعصية، واستبراءُ القلوبِ مِن محبّتِهم والاستغفار لهم، وما لم يحرِّم اللهُ على[2] المؤمنينَ مِن القولِ في التقية، حيثُ يقولُ: ﴿... إلاَّ أَنْ تَتَّقُوا مِنْهُمْ تُقَاةً...﴾ (٣: ٢٨)، وقال: ﴿... إلاَّ مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بالإِيمَانِ...﴾ (١٦: ١٠٦). فأمّا الفعلُ فلا يجوزُ. والفِراقُ لهم، والعداوةُ والمُحارَبةُ والقتالُ لأصنافِ أهلِ المعاصي، الذينَ أمَرَ اللهُ فيهم بالمحاربة[3] بذلكَ مِنْ أهلِ الشِّركِ وأهلِ الإحداثِ في الإقرارِ مِن أهلِ القِبلة، وتسميتُهم بأسمائِهم ومِلَلِهِمُ التي سمّاهمُ اللهُ بها ونسبَهُم إليها، وفرّقَ فيما بينهم، وإنفاذُ حُكمِ اللهِ فيهم، وإقامةُ حُدودِ اللهِ عليهِم؛ لأنها[4] دُونَ ذلك. ولا تعطيلَ لِحدٍّ وجَبَ على أهلِهِ، حرام على[5] وُلاةِ الأمرِ تعطيلُه، وحقٌّ على معرفةِ أهلِ الحقّ القائمينَ به إقامتُهُ على مَن وجَبَ عليهم مِن أنفُسِهم وأعوانهم في شدّةٍ تغبط إليهم ومُنابذةٍ لهم كما أمَرَ اللهُ فيهم. فمَنْ رَضِيَ بحُكمِ المُسلمينَ وأقرَّ بدِينه وتابَ، قُبِلَتْ توبتُه، ولم تُبطلِ التوبةُ عنه حدَّ ما وجَبَ[6] عليهِ، ووَسِعَ المسلمينَ مُجامعتُه، فإنْ أصرَّ واستكبرَ أقمتُم عليه حدَّ ما ركِبَ، لا يُتعدّى عليه غيرَ ذلك وبرئ

(١) وعليه ألّف: الف، O.
(٢) وما لم يحرم الله على المؤمنين: وما حرم الله، O، S، P.
(٣) بالمحاربة: P, O.
(٤) لأنها: لا نهاية، P, S.
(٥) على: ولا، S، P.
(٦) وجب: ركب، P.

المُسلمونَ منه على حَدَثِه وامتناعِه وإصرارِهِ ما كان على ذلك. ومَن عَطَّلَ حدّاً أو قَصَّرَ عنهُ بعدَ القُدرةِ والسبيلِ إلى إقامتهِ والعمل بهِ، كفَّرَهُ[١] تعطيلُ ما عطّلَ من الحُدودِ[٢] التي[٣] أمَرَ اللهُ وُلاةَ الأمرِ بإقامتِها على مَن أقــرَّ بها ووجبَتْ عليهِ، وأعْقَبَهُ اللهُ ذُلاًّ، وكانَ لذلِك أهلاً، وجَعلَ اللهُ عليهِ السلطانَ، ولم يكُنْ لهُ مِــنْ دُونِ اللهِ ولِيٌّ ولا نَصيرٌ، حتى يَرجعَ إلى إقامةِ ما كانَ[٤] أكْفَرَهُ تَعطِيلُه. وقــالَ: ﴿... لاَ تَتَّخِذُوا الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَتُرِيدُونَ[٥] أَنْ تَجْعَلُــوا لِلَّــهِ عَلَيْكُمْ سُلْطَانًا مُبِينًا﴾ (٤: ١٤٤). وذلك حقُّ اللهِ[٦] أَمَرَ أنْ يُعملَ بهِ في عبادِه، لا ترْكَ لذلكَ ولا خِلافَ على اللهِ[٧] فيهِ؛ لأنَّ اللهَ أثْبتَ الوِلايــةَ والاســتغفارَ والمودّةَ لأهلِ الطاعة، وحَرّم أموالَهُم ودِماءَهم وأعراضَهم وجعلَ ذلــكَ عِنــدهُ عظيماً، وذلك مِن حُقوقِهِمُ الذي عليهِ والذي أدَّوا إليهِ مِنْ حقِّهِ[٨].

٢٢– وحَرّمَ وِلايةَ المُنافقِينَ والاستغفارَ لهُم ومَودّتَهُم، وأحَلَّ منهم النكــاحَ، وأثبتَ المواريثَ والحُدودَ والأحكامَ عليهِم[٩] بإقرارهم. وإنما يثْبُت الإيمانُ والولايــةُ لِمَن صدَقَ في إقرارهِ وعمِلَ بما أقَرَّ بهِ. وحَرّمَ على المسلمينَ قِتــالَهُم مــا دامــوا مُظهِرينَ لهمُ الرضى بحُكمِهِم وعدلِهِم، وحقٌّ على مَن أقَرّ بحقٍّ أن يُؤدِّيَهُ، [و]علــى مَن دانَ بتحريمٍ أنْ يتّقِيَهُ. ولن يُحوِّلَهم إقرارُهُم إلى الإيمانِ ولا ثوابِ أهلِهِ[١٠]؛ لأنَّهم

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(١) كفّره: أكفره، O.

(٢) الحدود: الحد، O.

(٣) التي: الذي، O.

(٤) كان: +، S، P.

(٥) أتريدون: اتريدو، O.

(٦) الله: على الله، O.

(٧) على الله: الله، S، P.

(٨) مِنْ حقوقِهِمُ الذي عليهِ والذي أدَّوا إليهِ مِن حقّهِ: من حقوقهم للذي عليه أدوا إليــه مــن حقه، S، P.

(٩) والحدودَ والأحكامَ عليهِم: الحدود عليهم والأحكام، S، P.

(١٠) ولنْ يُحوّلَهم إقرارُهُم إلى الإيمانِ ولا ثوابِ أهلِهِ: وأن يحق لهم إقرارهم الإيمان، O.

دخلُوا في الإيمانِ بغيرِ صِدقِ أهلِه، فهُم يمشونَ في ضوئهِ ويعيشونَ في كنفِه بغيرِ صدقٍ ولا رغبةٍ، فهم خاسرونَ بمُخادَعتِهِمُ اللهَ وأولياءَه، ومُظاهرتِهم على اللهِ مَن عصاهُ، وما يَخدعونَ إلا أنفُسَهم وما يشعرون. فإنِ امتنعوا بحقِّ اللهِ بعدَ إقرارِهم بهِ، طُلِبَ إليهم ذلك الحقُّ أنْ يُعطُوه، فإذا امتنعوا[١] وبَغَوا على المسلمينَ قُوتِلُوا على أمرِ اللهِ؛ لأنّ اللهَ أمرَ بقتالِ أهلِ البَغْيِ، وأنزلَ في ذلكَ قُرآناً، فقالَ: ﴿وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ فَاءتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا...﴾ (٤٩: ٩)، وهي أن ترجعَ إلى مَا طُلِبَ إليها فامتنعتْ[٢] أنْ تُعطِيَه. فصاروا بالامتناعِ عما[٣] قِبَلَهُم مِنَ الحقِّ بُغاةً، حلالٌ دِماؤُهم بما استحلُّوا مِن دماءِ المسلمينَ وقتالِهم، وانتقضَ الإيمانُ عنهم، والناكثُ على نفسه نَكَثَ، والمُغيِّرُ نعمتَهُ مُغَيِّرٌ، والماكِرُ بنفسهِ مَكَرَ.

٢٣- وبلَغَنا أنّ ذلكَ القتالَ[٤] الذي ذَكَرَهُ اللهُ كان بالأيدي والنِّعالِ[٥] لا بالسلاحِ[٦]، فعظّم اللهُ ذلك، وبَلَغ بهم ما تسمعون[٧]، وسمَّاهُمْ باغِينَ بامتناعِهم بما قِبَلَهُم مِن الحقّ، وأَحَلَّ قِتالَهم فيه حتى يَرجعُوا إلى أمرِ اللهِ الذي كانوا مُقِرِّينَ[٨] به في بادِئِ[٩] أمرِهم. فكيفَ مَنْ سَفَكَ الدماءَ عُدواناً وظُلماً، وانتهكَ[١٠] المَحارمَ، وسعَى في الأرضِ فساداً، واغتصبَ أموال الناس[١١]، وتَبرّأَ

(١) امتنعوا: امتنعوا به، O.

(٢) فامتنعت: فامتنعت به، O.

(٣) عما: بما، P.

(٤) القتال: –، P.

(٥) النعال: البغال، S.

(٦) بالسلاح: بالسلاح كان، O.

(٧) تسمعون: يتنغمون، S.

(٨) مُقِرّين: معزين، O.

(٩) بادىء: يدي، S، O.

(١٠) انتهك: انهك، O.

(١١) أموال الناس: الناس أموالهم، O.

ممّن تولاّهم؟[١] فَعلَ ذلك وسمّاهُم مُؤمنينَ، وعابَ مَنْ قادَهُم[٢]، وبريءَ منهم وعادَاهُم لله، مُطيعاً بذلكَ لله مُحْتَسباً بدعوتِه. وهُم بذلكَ بَعْضُهُم مِن بعضٍ، العاملُ بالمعصيةِ المُقِيمُ[٣] عليها، والراضي بها، والمُعِينُ عليها، والمُوالي بذلك عليها بما اجتمعوا عليهِ[٤] مِن معصيةِ الله، وهُم في الآخرةِ في العذاب مُشتركُون. فمَن رضِي بمعصيةِ اللهِ أو أعانَ عليها غيرَهُ في بلائِها شاركَ العاملَ[٥] في حَرامِها، ومَنْ تَولّى كِبْرَ ذلك فلهُ عذابٌ أليمٌ[٦]. ومَنْ جَهلَ الحقَّ لم يَزدَدْ بجهلِه إلاّ جهلاً، ومِن حِمْلِه إلا ثِقلاً، ومِن مُواطَأتِه إلا وَجلاً[٧]، ﴿وَمَنْ كَانَ فِي هَذِهِ أَعْمَى فَهُوَ فِي الآخِرَةِ أَعْمَى وَأَضَلُّ سَبِيلاً﴾ (١٧: ٧٢).

٢٤- وكانت سيرةُ نبيِّ اللهِ[٨] صلّى اللهُ عليهِ وسلّم في البُغاةِ أنْ يُقَاتَلُوا على ما أحدَثُوا مِن بَغْيِهم وأقاموا عليهِ مِن جَوْرِهِم، حتى يَرجعُوا إلى الحقِّ فيُعطُوه، ولا يتعدّى بهم ذلك إلى غيرِهِ[٩]. وكانت سِيرتُه في اليهودِ والنصارى والمَجُوسِ أنْ دَعاهُم إلى الذي يَجدُونهُ في كتابِ الله مِن كلمةِ العدل: ألاّ[١٠] يعبُدوا إلا اللهَ ولا يُشركُوا به شيئاً، ويَجتنبُوا ما نهاهُمُ[١١] اللهُ عنهُ مِنَ الرِّجْسِ والمُنكرِ والقولِ بالزُّور، وأنْ يَضعَ عنهم الأغلالَ التي كانت عليهم والأصفاد[١٢]، ولا يَدْعُونَ معَ اللهِ إلهاً

(١) ممن: لمن، O.
(٢) قادهم: فادمهم، O.
(٣) المُقيم: مقيما، S، P.
(٤) اجتمعوا عليه: على معصية، S.
(٥) العامل: –، O.
(٦) أليم: عظيم، S، P.
(٧) وجلاً: وحلا، O.
(٨) نبيّ الله: –، O.
(٩) ولا يتعدى بهم ذلك إلى غيره: ولا تعدى لهم إلى غير، S، P.
(١٠) ألاّ: أن لا، S.
(١١) نهاهم: نهى، S، P.
(١٢) الأصفاد: الآصار، S، P.

آخرَ، ثمّ قال: ﴿... فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا...﴾ (٣: ٢٠)، ﴿... وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا هُمْ فِي شِقَاقٍ فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ﴾ (٢: ١٣٧). فمنِ استجابَ لَهُ منهم وَجَبَ لهُ ما وَجَبَ للمسلمينَ، وحَلَّ لهُ ما حلَّ لهم، ومَن كَرِهَ الإسلامَ أمـرَهُ بقتالِهم ﴿... حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ﴾ (٩: ٢٩)، فمَن أَقَرَّ مِنهم بالجِزيةِ أقرَّهُ على دِينه. وأحَلَّ اللهُ مِن أهلِ الكتابِ مِنَ اليهـودِ والنصـارى أكْـلَ ذبائحِهم ونِكاحَ المُحْصَنَاتِ مِن نسائِهم، وحَرَّمَ على المسـلمينَ ذبـائحَ المجُـوسِ ونِكاحَ[١] نسائِهم. وإنما أَحلَّ اللهُ من الكِتابيّينَ الذبائحَ والنساءَ ما لم يكُونوا حَرْبـاً، فإذا كانوا حرباً حرُمَ ذلك كُلُّه منهم، وأُحلّت على المناصبةِ دِمـاؤُهم وغنيمـةُ[٢] أموالِهم، وسَبْيُ نِسائِهم وذَرارِيهم الذينَ وُلِدُوا في مُحارَبتِهم.

٢٥- ومَن كانَ مِن مُشركي العربِ فإنّ اللهَ أحَـلَّ دِمـاءَهم وأمـوالَهم واستعراضهم وصَدَّهُم عنِ المسجدِ الحرامِ، وحَرّمَ[٣] مُوارَثتَهم ومُناكَحتَهم وأكْلَ ذبائحِهم، وأمَرَ ألا[٤] يُقَرُّوا على دِينِهم ولا تُقبلَ مِنـهم فِديـةٌ ولا جزيـةٌ إلا الدخولُ في الإسلامِ أو ضربُ أعناقِهم. فهذه سيرةُ نبيّ اللهِ صلّى اللهُ عليهِ وسلّم في هذهِ الأديان[٥]، وسارَ بها أئمةُ العدلِ بعدَهُ[٦]. سُنّةٌ تامّةٌ ماضيةٌ ثابتةٌ في الدينِ يَعملُ بها خلفاءُ اللهِ في أرضهِ القائمونَ بحَقِّهِ، لا يَنقُصونها[٧] ولا يتعدَّونَها، ولـن تجدَ لسُنّةِ اللهِ تبديلاً. وكلُّ العبادِ قد أعذر اللهُ إليه وأقامَ حُجّتَهُ عليـه، بالـذي أتاهم بهِ [مِنَ] البيانِ والهُدى والفُرقان والنور والبرهانِ على ألسن رُسلِه والهُداةِ مِن عبادِه، ولا ريبَ في ذلك ولا جهلَ، ولا لبسَ على ذي عقلٍ، قد فَصّلهُ اللهُ

(١) نكاح: -، O.
(٢) غنيمة: -، O.
(٣) حرّم: حرام، O.
(٤) لا: -، O.
(٥) الأديان: +، S.
(٦) بعده: +، S، P.
(٧) ينقصونها: ينقضونها، S.

تفصيلاً، وجَعلَ على كلِّ شيءٍ منهُ دليلاً. فمَن أسلمَ وَجهَهُ مُحتسباً، وأقبلَ إلى ربّهِ مُنيباً بَريّاً مِنْ ذَنْبه[١] استوجبَ أجرَهُ عِندَ ربّهِ، وسُمّي بالذي سُمّي، وكانتَ لهُ حُرمةُ[٢] ذلك وحقُّه في إخاءِ الإسلامِ وحُقوقِه التي أجراها اللهُ بينَ أهلِه.

٢٦- وليسَ الإسلامُ لِمَن تَسمّى بهِ وانتحلَهُ بغيرِ[٣] صِدقِ أهلِه، ولكنّه مَن حافظَ عليهِ واستكمله، وكان منهُ على طرائقِهِ[٤] المستقيمةِ بأخلاقه العظيمة على مراتبهِ الكريمةِ المُبلغ بها إليهِ للوصولِ بها لديهِ، مع مُجانَبةِ الخيانةِ، وأداءِ الأمانــة، ورَفْضِ الأشرارِ مِن البِطانة، ومَا يَضيعُ[٥] العبدُ بإضاعته[٦] أمانته، وطاعةِ أهــلِ الخيانةِ مِن بِطانتِه، [حيثُ] يُستدرجُ العبدُ مِن حيثُ لا يَعلَمُ، ويُحشَرُ في غيــب ذلك ويندم، ويُحبطُ عنهُ[٧] العملُ، ويربحُ منهُ في المُنقلبِ العللَ ما أثبتَ العدلُ، ويَحِلُّ بهِ المَقْتُ الكبير، ويصيرُ بها إلى أهلِ[٨] التخسير، فساءَ قَبــيلاً[٩] وبــئسَ للظالِمينَ بدَلاً، مَن أسرَّ خِلافَ ما أظهرَ، وانتقضَ مِن حَقِّ اللهِ ما بِهِ على نفسهِ أقَرّ، كلُّ ذلك بعِلمِ اللهِ ومعرفتِه، والأمرُ بتمامِه وعاقبتِه.

٢٧- والناسُ في إقرارِهِم بدِينِ اللهِ على مَنازلَ، تختلفُ في عــدلِ[١٠] اللهِ مِــن وِلايةٍ وبراءةٍ ووقفٍ لا يجاوزُ ذلك فيهم، وهو العدلُ في ديــنِ اللهِ، وعليــه الحــقُّ واجبٌ على مَن[١١] قامَ بأمرِ اللهِ في عبادِه أنْ يُنْزِلَهُم بحيــثُ أنــزلتْهُم أعمــالُهم،

(١) ذنبه: ودينه، O.
(٢) حرمة: خدمة، P.
(٣) بغير: بعير، O.
(٤) طرائقه: أمر الله، O.
(٥) يضيع: يناع، O.
(٦) بإضاعته: +، S، P.
(٧) عنه: فيه، O؛ منه، S، P.
(٨) أهلِ: +، S، P.
(٩) قبيلاً: مثلا، S، P.
(١٠) عدل: -، O.
(١١) من: ما، O.

ويُسمِّيهم بأسمائهم، وتجري عليهم أحكامُهم على قَدْرِ منازِلِهم. فإنّ مَن أَثبتَ في الناسِ اسماً، أو أجرَى عليهم حُكماً قبل أنْ يَعرفَ منازِلَهم فيتبيّنها أخطأ واعتدى، ومَن أنزلَهم منزلةَ مَن لَم يقولوا قولَه ويعصُوا فِعلَه جَارَ وظَلَمَ، ذلك أمرُهم في الدنيا، وكذلك في(1) الآخرةِ عِندَ الله لِكُلٍّ درجاتٌ ممّا عَمِلوا وهُم لا يُظلمونَ. قالَ اللهُ: ﴿فَأَعْقَبَهُمْ نِفَاقًا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ إِلَى يَوْمِ يَلْقَوْنَهُ بِمَا أَخْلَفُوا اللَّهَ مَا وَعَدُوهُ وَبِمَا كَانُوا يَكْذِبُونَ﴾ (٩: ٧٧). فسمّاهُمُ اللهُ بذلك مُنافقِينَ، وبالفسوقِ عن أمرِه سمّاهم فاسقينَ. والكفرُ يجمعُ أهلَ الشِّركِ وأهلَ الإحداثِ في الإقرارِ مِن أهلِ القِبلة، وهما كُفرانِ: كُفرُ شِرْكٍ قد لَحِقَهُم فيهِ حُكمُ المُشركينَ، وكُفرٌ بالأعمالِ، وَهُم منافقونَ دَخلوا بالإقرارِ مِن(2) البابِ الأَعظمِ، وخرجوا مِن النفقِ الأصغرِ بتضييعِ ما أمرَهُم اللهُ بهِ مِن طاعتِهِ وافترضَ عليهم من حقِّه، ومُواقَعةِ ما حرّمَ اللهُ عليهم مِن معصيةٍ، ورُكوبِ ما نهاهُمُ اللهُ عنهُ مِن حُرُماتِه، فهذا كُفرُ أهلِ الإقرارِ مِن الحُكمِ بغيرِ ما أنزلَ اللهُ وتَولِّيهم عن أمرِ الله، قال اللهُ لهُ الحمدُ: ﴿وَإِذَا دُعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ إِذَا فَرِيقٌ مِنْهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ * وَإِنْ يَكُنْ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ يَأْتُوا إِلَيْهِ مُذْعِنِينَ * أَفِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَرَضٌ أَمِ ارْتَابُوا أَمْ يَخَافُونَ أَنْ يَحِيفَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَرَسُولُهُ بَلْ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ * إِنَّمَا كَانَ قَوْلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذَا دُعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ أَنْ يَقُولُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾ (٢٤: ٤٨-٥١). فبالكُفرِ دخلَ أهلُ النارِ النارَ، وبالإيمانِ دخلَ أهلُ الجنّةِ الجنةَ.

٢٨- والإسلامُ(3) مِنَ الإيمان، والإيمانُ مِن الإسلام، والتقوى من الإيمان، وبعضُ ذلكَ مِن بعضٍ على استكمالِ الإيمانِ بما(4) فيهِ، وإتيانِ حُقوقِه والوقوفِ

(1) ومَن أنزلَهُم منزلةَ مَن لَم يقُولوا قولَه ويعصُوا فِعلَه جَارَ وظَلَمَ، ذلك أمرُهم في الدنيا. وكذلك في الآخرة: ومَن أنزلَهُم مَنازلَهُم منزلة الآخرة، S، P.

(2) من: في، O.

(3) الإسلام: الجنة، S، P.

(4) بما: ما، S، P.

على حدودهِ. ولا يثبُت الإيمانُ بانتقاصِ فرائضِ اللهِ، ولا بالمقامِ[١] على حرامِ اللهِ، هيهاتَ هيهاتَ مِن ذلكَ، والكافرونَ هُمُ الظالمونَ والفاسقون. وكفى بالعملِ شاهداً على أهلِه، فبحُسنه يحسُنُ الثناءُ ويصلُح، وبقبيحِه[٢] يسُوءُ الثناءُ ويقبُح، وهو الذي يحكُم اللهُ به للعبدِ، وعليهِ وبهِ يُعرفُ ويُنسَبُ إليهِ، وعليهِ يُوالَى ويُعادَى، وذلك مِن أوثقِ عُرَى الإسلامِ وأثبتِ أركانه: الولايةُ في اللهِ والعداوةُ في اللهِ. واللهُ[٣] أولُ مَنْ بَرِئَ مِن أهلِ المعصيةِ وعاداهم عليها، ثم أمضى ذلك وأمرَ بهِ فيهم، سُنّةٌ تامّةٌ عِندَ اللهِ معمولٌ بها للّه. وإنما وليُّنا[٤] مَن أوفى بما عاهدَ عليهِ اللهَ[٥] في كلِّ ما ألزمَ فيهِ طاعتَه، و[٦] حقٍّ أوجبَ على العبادِ تأديتَهُ، مِن تقوى[٧] اللهِ ووَرَعٍ عن حُرُماتِه. وعَدُوُّنا الناكثُ بمُيولِه إلى هواهُ وشهوتِه وغيِّهِ وفِتنتِه، المُستحِلُّ لِما حرّمَ اللهُ، الآتي ما نهاهُ اللهُ عنه، استخفافاً بما أوعَدَهُ ونَقْضاً لِما عاهَدَ عليهِ اللهَ، فأولئكَ حلالٌ خلْعُهُم والبراءةُ مِنهم بما استحلُّوا الحرامَ، ورَكِبوا مِنَ[٨] الآثامِ، وما ربُّكَ بظَلّامٍ للعبيدِ.

٢٩- أهلُ المنزلةِ بين المنزلتينِ دخلوا في الإسلامِ، فأقَرُّوا بحُقوقِه وأظهَرُوا لِلمسلمينَ الرِّضى[٩]، فإذا غابُوا[١٠] أتى عنهمُ الذي [هو] عايبٌ في دِينِهم وناقِضٌ لِولايتِهم، مِن أعمالٍ يتخالفون إليها حَرَّمَ اللهُ استحلالَها، فإذا عُوتِبُوا اعتَذرُوا، وإذا استُتِيبُوا استَغفرُوا، يُظهِرُونَ الكراهيةَ للعيوبِ والتوبةَ مِن الذنوبِ، ثُمّ يَرجِعُونَ بعدَ

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(١) بالمقام: القيام، S، P.
(٢) بقبيحه: تقبيحه، P.
(٣) واللّه: وهو، O.
(٤) وليُّنا: قولنا، S.
(٥) اللّه: قلبه، O.
(٦) و، –، P.
(٧) تقوى: تقوى من، O.
(٨) من: –، O، P.
(٩) الرضى: +، P.
(١٠) غابوا: غلبوا، P.

ذلكَ إلى الذي اعتَذرُوا وتابُوا منه، كذلكَ أمرُهم في[1] المماتِ. فأولئك يُـــدْعَونَ إذا أدبَرُوا، ويُقْبَلُ منهم إذا أقبَلُوا، ويَسَعُ المسلمين مُجامَعتُهم إذا تابُوا. فمَن خَتمَ عملَهُ منهم بتوبةٍ مُناصِحاً فيها كانَ في جماعةِ المسلمين ووِلايتِهم، ومَن خَتمَ عملَهُ بإصرارٍ على المكفرةِ كانَ للبراءةِ منه أهلاً وانتقضتْ وِلايتُه. فإنّ أملكَ أمورِ العبـــادِ هـــي خَواتيمُها، وكلٌّ له ما أَظهرَ مِن معروفٍ أو مُنكَرٍ، يجبُ له العـــداوةُ والبغضـــاءُ، والوِلايةُ والرِّضَى، وللهِ الحُجّةُ على مَنْ عَصاهُ، وله المِنّةُ والنِّعمةُ[2] على مَـــنِ اتّقـــاهُ بالذي بَصَّرَ مِنَ الرُّشدِ، وهَدَى لهُ مِن المزيدِ[3]، ﴿وَيَزِيدُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ اهْتَدَوْا هُدًى...﴾ (١٩: ٧٦)، ﴿... وَلاَ يَزِيدُ الظَّالِمِينَ إِلاَّ خَسَارًا﴾ (١٧: ٨٢).

نسألُ اللهَ لنا ولكم عَوْناً على طاعتِه، وعِصمةً مِن[4] معصيتِه، وتوفيقاً لِسُنّةِ الهُدى التي فَضّلَ بها مَن هَداهُ إليها في مُعافاةٍ وسُرورٍ وكفايـــةٍ لكـــلِّ محـــذورٍ، ونسألُه مِن فضلِه العظيم، إنّ [ـــه] عليهِ يسيرٌ، وهو على كُلِّ شـــيءٍ قـــديرٌ. والسلامُ علينا ورحمةُ اللهِ، وصلّى اللهُ[5] على مُحمدٍ كما هُوَ[6] أهلُه، والحمدُ للهِ حقَّ حمدِه.

2.4 Translation

To those of the brethren who have written to us from the people of Khurāsān:

1- Peace be upon you, we praise God for you, there is no god but God. He is fair in His bounty, kind in His justice, and wise in His acts. He has the most beautiful names, the highest praise, the wisest acts, and perfection in directing affairs. In His hand is the good; He is powerful over everything.

(١) في: إلى، P.
(٢) والنعمة: –، S، P.
(٣) المزيد: الرشد، S، P.
(٤) من: عن، O.
(٥) الله: –، O.
(٦) هو: –، O.

2- We advise you to fear God, who forbade you from having the characteristics of the hypocrites. He took a covenant from you to obey His commandments and avoid His prohibitions, testing and examining you thereby. So fear God and stand upright as He has commanded you. Remember death and the graves, the resurrection and the day of judgment, a day "when those who were followed disown their followers" (2:166), and the evildoers bite their hands in grief for what they have done. They will be enemies to erstwhile friends, with the exception of those who feared God.

3- We wrote to you out of kindness, for the exaltation of your honour and the increase of your righteousness. We and the Muslims around us are under the protection of God. Our desire is to ensure the harmony among you, and [you] deserve it [and] you belong to us. We ask God to complete and increase His favour upon you. All praise is for God, the Lord of all beings, and may the praise of God be upon Muḥammad.

4- If someone asks: Tell me about someone who was under the bond of Muslim association until he disappeared or died and then two witnesses of the Muslims, acknowledged and experts of their doctrine, acquainted with the stipulations of association and dissociation, testified against him after his death that he had sinned against the faith and refused to repent until he died, and we did not know whether he had repented of sinning: would Muslims accept their testimony against their ruler after his death on the basis of the rule that proof dies along with people when they die?

5- We say, and power comes only from God: If the candidate was one of the imams chosen by Muslim scholars to govern the state and [they] confirmed his rule in obedience to the Lord and surrendered to his rule and consented to associate with him, or if he was one of the religious imams who were famous for their kindness to Muslims, and scholars gave him a pledge to obey God and gave him the responsibility to govern them and their affairs and agreed upon his legitimate ruling, such as ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Jābir b. Zayd, Julandā b. Masʿūd, Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb, Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl, Mūsā b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, as well as those who were like them but not mentioned.

Even if a group of witnesses – and even if they were many – were to bear witness against those people or against someone among them after his death that he had turned against his faith and insisted on it and did

not repent till he died, Muslims do not accept that. In this case, Muslims should dissociate from the witnesses and ask them to repent for what they have said. If the witnesses repent, they have the right to return to their previous position in the Muslim community, but if they insist on what they have testified before, then the Muslims should continue dissociating from them. If people testified against one of the Imams mentioned above from the Muslims during his lifetime, they would not accept this from him and dissociate from him and ask him to repent. If he repents, Muslims may accept him, but if he insists on not repenting, they should continue their dissociation from him.

6- Similarly the evildoing imams, whose sins were notorious within the Muslim community, and the Muslims consented to dissociate from them such as Muʿāwiyah b. Abī Sufyān and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ as well as others like them who are not mentioned. Even if a hundred Muslims, or a little more or less, bore witness that they had repented before death and renounced their evil deeds and that thereupon the Muslims had associated with them again, then Muslims would not accept this testimony from them, and they must dissociate from them and ask them to repent. If they repent, then they will be accepted back into the Muslim community, but if they insist on their testimony, then the Muslims should dissociate from them as well as from those who were heretical imams.

7- Association with those mentioned among the religious imams is something customarily inherited and is famous among Muslims. It is an issue that has already been debated among Muslims.

The testimony of the witnesses is not accepted in either of these two aspects, particularly since it contains the accusation of lying against those who came before. Nobody must accuse your authorities (*a'immah*) [after their death], and then invalidate your allegation which you once made, thereby dissociating from your [unrighteous] opponents. No one could bring something different from what they have said.

8- Suppose there is one who is considered to have been in association with the Muslim community until he disappeared or died, and then two witnesses who are knowledgable in respect of association and dissociation, bear witness against him, either when he is away or after he has died, that he had committed something against the faith and insisted on it and no one knew whether he had repented before his

death. The duty should be that the people who accepted him accept the testimony against him and dissociate from him.

If Muslims did not dissociate from someone against whom they accepted testimony after his death about his sins which led him to unbelief, they would have to forgive all the people who are from your community [and associated with ʿUthmān and ʿAlī] after the death of Muʿāwiyah and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. This is because they would say to you: "You and your opponents consented that in fact they were in obedience to God, so we associated with them because you had agreed on that." On the other hand, if you proved that they have committed sins, they would say: "We do not accept your proof, because they are already dead or their evidence died with them." Likewise, if you forgive those Muslims for accepting them after establishing the proof against them, then the affair has become worse and your claim becomes invalid for which you had dissociated from people who went astray with sinners. If you overcome their arguments and dissociate from them, then you refute your own statement that the testimony of witnesses against somebody who had died is not accepted after his death.

I have heard from one of the Muslims that ʿAzzān b. Ṣaqar said: "If a man was living in Iraq and had heard of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's virtues, but not his sins, he would have been likely to accept him. If another man bears witness that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib committed sins, then he has to dissociate from the witness. But, if there are two witnesses, he has to dissociate from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." This establishes that one must dissociate from ʿAlī after his sinning was proven by legitimate proof after his death. ʿAzzān b. Ṣaqar was an Omani scholar and we depend on him for this issue.

9- On the genealogy of Islam. God is our Lord, Muḥammad is our Prophet, the Qur'ān is our guidance, the sacred house is our direction for prayer, and Islam is our religion. Islam is faith and faith is Islam. Piety and righteousness (*taqwā*) are from faith and fealty (*wafāʾ*, *birr*) is from faith. All these together are complementary with faith, and [these parts] establish its delineation and righteous practice. Faith is not achieved through disobedience to God's commands or through continuing in doing what God has forbidden.

10- Faith is the confession that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His Prophet and that the revelations that Muḥammad received from God are true. Faith is in God, the day of resurrection, the

angels, the book, the apostles, the paradise and the fire, and that the final hour is upcoming and that there can be no doubt about it and that God will raise up all who are in their graves. Do good and command it, and avoid evil and prohibit it, in accordance with God's commands and prohibitions that God laid out clearly in His book and ordained in a righteous and true manner.

11- Faith is to perform regular prayer on time, day and night. Prayer must be performed with its kneelings and bowings and full cleanliness and purity. It also must begin with *takbīrat al-iḥrām*[(1)] and end with *taslīm*.[(2)] All this is done with submissiveness and acquiescence. It is also necessary to pray in the congregation. When praying, it is prohibited to supplicate *qunūt*,[(3)] saying amen (*amīn*).[(4)] Nor may one merely wipe the tops of the covered feet instead of washing the feet in the *wuḍūʾ*. It is permissible while on a journey to be excused from performing the full prayer, and travellers who wish to combine the prayers are allowed to do so. The Friday congregational prayer is to be conducted in the *amṣār mumaṣṣara*[(5)] and with the imams of justice in other places.[(6)] This prayer is a duty upon all resident (*muqīm*) people who have attained puberty. All this includes the prayers of *fiṭr*,[(7)] *naḥr*,[(8)] and the prayer at the burial service of the people of the *qibla* (i.e. Muslims) after washing their bodies, wrapping them in shrouds, and

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(1) It means a prayer of prohibition or consecration, because it prohibits the worshipper from saying or doing anything extraneous in the prayer. The prayer begins with *Allāh akbar* (God is most great). See *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Takbīr".

(2) The prayer ends with *al-salām ʿalaykum wa-raḥmat Allāh* (peace be upon you and the mercy of God). *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Salām".

(3) *Qunūt* is done at the end of the prayer service, when the worshipper raises his hands to the height of his chest, with palms towards heaven, and offers a supplication. In these supplications, the worshipper may use his own words and is not bound by prescribed formulae. The Ibāḍīs do not consider the *qunūt* to be part of the prayer; *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Ḳunūt".

(4) Usually this word is said after reading *Sūrah al-Fātiḥah*. Ibāḍī opinion forbids the mention of this word in prayer, because it is a human word, not revealed by God; *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Amīn".

(5) There were seven towns that were known as the capital cities of the Islamic state. They were chosen by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb after Islam spread beyond Arabia; these cities were: Mecca, Medina, Basra, Damascus, Kufah, Yemen (Ṣanʿāʾ), Egypt (al-Fusṭāṭ), and Sohar; al-Bisyāwī, *Jāmiʿ*, 2: 149.

(6) It may not be performed in the open air, in tents, or out of town, but only in a mosque within a town, or in a decent prayer house.

(7) The first day of Shawwāl.

(8) 10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah.

burying them. There is no prayer after dawn until the sun rises, and there is no prayer after the afternoon prayer until the sun sets, except for the prayer of redemption or the burial prayer.

12- Faith also necessitates the giving of regular alms: *zakāt* from the various kinds of known properties specified[(1)] [by God]. These kinds of *zakāt* should be given according to the duties towards God and the *sunna* of His Prophet: on time, regular in a good manner and precise.

It should be given to those who observe God's ordainance, to those who respect God and judge according to His justice and distribute [it] in equity and practise justice among the people and do not practise injustice towards God and towards His rules. And these are the people of authority in these matters assigned to distribute it. [In contrast to this are people] who take hold of it without being entitled or deposit it with people who have no right in it and dispose of it in contradiction to the distribution wanted by God and in contrast to His justice and use the *zakāt* for themselves or for their relatives, or achieve through it their personal desires, or reserve it for their next of kin [lit.: those who paid them obedience and are related with them], whom God has not given an allocated share of the *zakāt*. If there is no just Imam or if the Imamate is in the hand of unjust rulers, the people who are eligible to pay the *zakāt* should give it themselves to the specified people who need it.

13- Fasting throughout the month of Ramaḍān and the practice that is prescribed in the *sunnah*, are also part of faith. This means establishing all the other essential duties of fasting, and the things by which God is remembered, such as abstinence, forbearance, piety, and renunciation are also part of faith. *Zakāt al-abdān* (the alms of body) is also a duty,[(2)] which is one *ṣāʿ*[(3)] of what is used for food by each person [in the family], young or old, free or enslaved, man or woman. Pilgrimage to the Sacred House, for those who are able, is also part of faith.

[Faith also means] treating parents well, and maintaining ties with people with whom God has commanded contacts should be maintained:

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(1) The following goods or earnings are subject to the *zakāt*: 1) animals, such as camels, bovines (oxen, cows, and buffalo), sheep, and goats, 2) a tenth of the fruits from the field, 3) money, gold, and silver, 4) 2.5% of merchandise, and 5) minerals and buried treasures; *EI*[2], s.v. "Zakā".

(2) The distribution of alms at the feast of Fiṭr on 1 Shawwāl is obligatory for every Muslim, as is the distribution of alms during the fasting of Ramaḍān.

(3) A kind of measure of weight; *EI*[2], s.v. "Ṣāʿ".

kinfolk, neighbours, companions, and wayfarers, and in addition to these those belonging to your household. It also means giving what is due to the people to whom God gives rights in the faith, and ranking people according to their good and evil behavior, and dissociation and association from them and with them according to this. With this in mind, do not become friends or give loyalty except to those who fear God and believe in Him, otherwise this would be the way of those who disobey God, and "thou shall find no changing the wont of God." (33:62).

14- And [faith means] lowering the gaze, protecting the private parts, removing the self from what is forbidden by God, and disavowing such things. Moreover, it includes covering what God commands His servants to cover, and what He taught His servants. God commands women to cover in a different manner than men. God commands women to remain in their homes and to draw their veils over their ornaments, and not to stamp their feet to attract attention to their hidden ornaments, with the exception of that which appears naturally thereof, things whose appearance is neither forbidden nor shameful. Such things include applying *kohl* to the eyes or wearing a ring on the finger. Any woman who displays a bracelet on her arm, an earring in her ear, an anklet on her ankle or any other (prohibited) body part, except her face and her hands, to anyone except a male attendant of her kin (*maḥram*)(1) is disobedient to her Lord until she repents of her sin.

Women should not tattoo others, nor be tattooed themselves; they should refrain from separating their teeth (for reasons of beautification); they should not wear false hair or attach false hair to others. Women should not (overly) mourn at their misfortunes, slap their cheeks, scratch their faces, lament or be lamented, for some who hear such lamenting derive pleasure from it. Women should not take off their veils except in the company of those men they are prohibited to marry *(maḥram)*, nor be naked except with their husbands. Women should not be approached (for sexual relations) during their monthly courses until they are purified by means of *ghusl*, or ritual bathing, thus ending their state of ritual impurity.

15- And [faith means] not to enter the houses of other people without first asking for permission. The name of God should be invoked when offering a sacrifice, and meat that has been sacrificed without the

(1) A person who is illegal for the woman to marry; *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Maḥram".

mention of God's name should not be eaten. That is forbidden. All fermented or intoxicating drinks are also forbidden. Marriage should be undertaken with a dowry, a witness, permission of the guardian, and the consent of the woman. Men should keep away from marrying women who are forbidden by God in His book. Divorce should be in the presence of witnesses, and includes the *ʿiddah*.[1] Do not take God's verse in jest. With regard to inheritance, it should be administered as explained in the verses of the Qurʾān. The law of inheritance states that there is no inheritance between different religions.

16- [It is faithful] to avoid lies, false testimony, and similar words and sayings that are of no benefit to the speaker; all this is considered to demonstrate the excellence of an individual's religion. Repentance to God of all sins and shortcomings necessitates that the penitent does not return to the sin committed, that he regrets having committed the sin, and that he makes good for his sin with a better state of being and goodness. It is the duty of every Muslim to bear testimony against people who stray from the right path, to exclude them from the community, to dissociate from them, and to bear enmity and hatred for them, except for what God allowed through concealing [it] and not making manifest in public.

One should associate with the people of obedience, loving them, treating them respectfully, protecting their families and property during their absence as God would guard them, you should help them in a pious manner as God commanded: "Do not help each other to sin and enmity." (5:2) Fear God in the things He commands you to do or prohibits you from doing; be respectful of that in private and in public, and know that God knows what is in your hearts, so be fearful of Him. Also, purify your heart from envy and rancour and your tongue from false words. Moreover, disobey your self when it commands sinful things and divert yourself from desire and lusts that cause it to perish. Keep yourself away from the places of lust, remind yourself not to be heedless and neglectful, raise yourself to the moral rules and ethics of Islam. The ranking of people is by their striving to love God; therefore, it is necessary to join together in goodness by His grace.

17- [It is faithful to] do the right and say the right for God's sake only as one is able to do, and to follow the ordinances of justice and the

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(1) The *ʿiddah* is the period of probation that designates the number of days a divorced or widowed woman has to wait before she is allowed to remarry; *EI*[2], s.v. "ʿIdda".

footsteps of the guided Imams whom God has strengthened with His power, protecting and guiding them with His light. People should seek established knowledge, associate with scholars, follow their path, and know the bounty that God has bestowed upon them. Conversely, avoid the other imams of error and the leaders of sedition; keep clear of them in their disobedience to God. Faith is to advise people against ignorance and blindness, and to caution against misguidance and bad speech. You should remind people and warn them to fear God with the teachings of His apostles, whether these teachings justify punishment or warn of impending doom. Encourage in Muslims [the sense of] wisdom and sincere preaching, convincing and inviting whomever turned away and whomever returned and accepted the religion.

18- [Faith also means to] fight those who deny the day of judgment and violate the right of the believers after they have been invited to embrace Islam, and you must not stop fighting the people who accuse you of lies until they believe in God and those who transgress until they comply with His commands. The traces and teachings of the evildoers should be changed in order to undo whatever evil they have created, whatever heretical doctrines they have advocated, and whatever errors they have introduced against God's commands. You should refute the people who say that there is no predestination, arguing against God's sovereignty and advocating man's supremacy in everything and refute all those who assert that faith is in words rather than in deeds. Oppose those who call the people of monotheism (*ahl al-tawḥīd wa-al-iqrār*) polytheists, and people who assert anthropomorphism, people who believe in the visibility of God and dismiss His threats, and people who claim that those from the confessing monotheists (*iqrār*) who commit sins will eventually enter Paradise after they entered Hell. Indeed, God considers all of these people to be grave sinners, and for sinners there is nothing but error and loss.

19- [Faith also means] protecting and guarding the sanctity of Islam, according to necessity and ability. This duty is an order from God to the people of insight, to be taken upon oneself, and it is well known among the people of knowledge. There should be fighting in the cause of God until His word is exalted above all others and His command is firmly established. [Faith means] endurance in executing noble actions that God has commanded. However, it also means standing up firmly for

justice, including bearing witness between people, whether they be distant or near. The witnesses should not refuse when they are asked to give evidence and testify. A fair judgment between one man and another is a fulfilment of goodness. In contrast, there must be no obedience to those who disobey God; nor should any vows be taken which entail disobedience to God. No authority should be given to any judge who does not rule according to what God has sent down. Such people are unbelievers, wrongdoers, and rebels.

Establish the weight with justice, fill up the measure, permit trade, and forbid usury. Keep all of God's prescriptions with regard to that which He has forbidden, except for those things that He allows in marriage, for nourishment, and to quench one's thirst. Hold fast to these ordinances tenaciously. However, those aforementioned people of desires exceed the set limits in transgression and wrongdoing. God has promised them a swift penalty and fetters in this life and punishment on the Last Day.

20- [Faith means] the prohibition of usury and abstaining from doubtful things that have no basis in either the *sunnah* or *āthār*, and from obscure things that have neither been attested by God in His book nor in the *sunnah* of His Prophet and the excellent Companions. Such trade is not self-rewarding.

[Faith includes] avoiding suspicions, taking hold of clear signs, and seeking knowledge of the essentials of religion. Deeds should be executed following the guidance of God. Extend so far as God has extended his religion. Make use of His bounties, which are from His mercy to His servants in ease and simplicity. Worship and thank God. Muslims should avoid bad manners, arrogance, vainglory, and haughtiness. They should not adopt the behaviour of the disbelievers in private or in public.

Muslims should assent to the knowledge of God and the people of religion. They should submit to Him, be humble, honourable, and modest. Honour God by not saying anything without prior knowledge. Do not indulge in false suspicion and futile knowledge.

Do not shed blood, for injustice, killing a believer, or helping and supporting his killing is prohibited: "And whoso slays a believer wilfully, his recompense is Gehenna, therein dwelling forever, and God will be wroth with him and will curse him, and prepare for him a mighty chastisement" (4:93).

[Faith includes] combing the hair, clipping the moustache, cleaning the teeth, rinsing the mouth, snuffing water up the nose (*istinshāq*), removing the hair under the armpit, trimming the nails, shaving the pubic hair, circumcision, and performing ablution with *istinjāʾ* by cleaning oneself from the impurities of urine and excrement.

[Moreover, faith includes] avoiding what God has prohibited in His Sacred Realm. From the beginning until the end of pilgrimage, the pilgrim must shun what God has prohibited, such as obscenity, wickedness, and heated debate. The pilgrim must perform the sacrifice as well as mention and remember God throughout the performance of his pilgrimage. As a pilgrim, he should avoid winking at the believers, defaming them, backbiting them, thinking ill of them, spying on their private affairs, and hurting them without any cause. Such deeds lead to failure of good deeds and carry the burden of a manifest sin and lead the people who commit such acts to a real and evident loss. [Faith includes], fulfilling the rights of believers, offering them love and asking God to pardon and forgive them. As a result of this, God distinguishes between the believers and brings their hearts together.

21- [Faith forbids] association with the sinful; rather, hearts should be dissociated, [but faith also means respecting the fact] that God has not forbidden believers to claim that there are exceptions [for reasons of *taqiyyah*]. As He said, "unless you have a fear of them" (3:28), and He said, "excepting him who has been compelled, and his heart is still at rest in his belief" (16:106). With respect to manifest acts this [exception] is not permissible. [And faith commands] to separate them and to fight all categories of the sinful whom God has ordained to be fought against. And this comprises the polytheists and the sinful among the Muslims. And you should call them by the names and doctrines that God has called them, thereby differentiating between them. [Faith means] to execute God's judgment and punishment upon them as these are issues of lesser significance (and do not necessitate fighting or going to war). There is no countermanding with respect to the execution of God's punishment, and [even] authorities must not countermand it. The right thing to do is to apply the punishment to people from their family and entourage if the authority knows about God, whereby they are happy to apply it to them and give a warning, as God has ordained.

The repentance of people who are satisfied with the Muslim judgment and acknowledge their religion and feel repentance, is accepted, but this does not obliterate punishment, and God allowed to associate with them. However, if a man is obstinate and arrogant, punishment should be executed on him according to what he has wrongly done, and not more. The Muslims dissociate from him for his sin, obstinacy and denial.

Anyone in authority who interrupts or shortens a punishment although he has the faculty of applying it is a sinful person through interrupting the punishment that God has ordained the authorities to apply it to those who committed the sin and must be punished. And God will institute consequences – as he was able to apply the punishment and God had given him the power to it – and he is neither protected nor helped until he re-establishes and executes what he has hindered. God says, "[O believers,] take not the unbelievers as friends instead of the believers; or do you desire to give God over you a clear authority" (4:144). No one can leave or doubt God's right over His servants. Thus God has established for His obedient servants friendship, forgiveness, and love. And God has prohibited the violation of their wealth, blood, and dignity, and God made this an important matter. These are their rights, which God has given them on account of what they restore to His right.

22- God has prohibited [Muslims] to associate with hypocrites, to ask forgiveness for them, or to seek friendship and love with them. But He has allowed to marry them. He has established for them inheritance, punishment, and judgment according to their confirmation [of belief].

Faith and associate are a proof for the Muslim who truly acknowledges the existence of God and acts in accordance with his true belief. It is forbidden for Muslims to kill or fight others as long as they appear to be satisfied with their authority and their judgment. Indeed, one who acknowledges something good should abide by it, and one who acknowledges something prohibited should avoid it. Despite their acknowledgment, the hypocrites will not be accepted, because they embrace the faith untruthfully. However, they are under the light of the faith, and living under His protection, though untruthfully and dishonestly. They are not genuine and true in their belief, as they attempt to trick God, and they help those who rebel against God,

unaware of their deception. Those people, if they refuse what they have acknowledged in terms of belief in God and His rights, then they are asked for truth. If they refuse and rebell against the Muslims, they should fight them according to God's order, which urges Muslims to fight the transgressing people, as revealed in the Qurʾān: "…if two parties of the believers fight, put things right between them; then, if one of them is insolent against the other, fight the insolent one till it reverts to God's commandment. If it reverts, set things right between them" (49:9). [This verse refers to] the invitation to return to what was asked from them, but they refused to give it and they became wrongdoers the blood of whom became allowed to be shed for what they had allowed of bloodshedding among the Muslims and fighting them and so that they are no longer considered to be faithful. [They brought this upon themselves] by becoming disloyal, capricious, and treacherous.

23- We are informed that in this fighting, approved by God, fists and shoes were used but no weapons. As you know, they were destroyed and became lawless rebels for not abiding by what they had acknowledged to be right. And God allowed to fight them in his name and it serves them right to be punished until they revert to what God commands, so that they can be close to Him as they were before. How could anyone call them faithful when they aggressively shed blood for no reason, profane the inviolable, spread mischief throughout the earth, and usurp people's property and dissociate from those who are loyal to them in deed and whom God called believers? Shame on those who lead them! And praised are those who reject them out of obedience and love for God. Those who approve the wrongdoers' deeds, help them, take part in their offenses, and arrogantly turn their backs on the right, they will share the wrongdoers' torture in the hereafter. Whoever is ignorant of the right will acquire nothing but more ignorance. His burden will be much heavier, and he will be in fear for what he has committed. "And whosoever is blind in this world shall be blind in the world to come, and he shall be even further astray from the way" (17:72).

24- The Prophet (peace be upon him) was keen on fighting the oppressors for their horrible deeds until they returned to the right path and never infringed upon anybody's rights. The Prophet continuously called the Jews, the Christians, and the Magians to embrace the just word they find in the book of God, and never to worship any god but God, and

never to associate anything with Him. The Prophet urged them to avoid abomination, perjury, and bad deeds, which God forbade them to do. [He also urged them] to free themselves from the shackles of believing in any false god and to believe only in God, and not to call upon any but God. God says, "And if they have surrendered, they are right guided" (3:20), and "if they turn away, then they are clearly in schism; God will suffice you for them. He is All-hearing, All-knowing" (2:137). Those who answer to his call have the same duties as Muslim and are allowed to do what they are allowed. Those who abhor Islam have to be fought as God ordaines "until they pay the tribute out of hand [*jizyah*[(1)]] and have been humbled" (9:29). When they consent to payment, they are free to practise their own religion. God allowed eating the slaughtered animals of the people of the Book, Jews and Christians, and also marrying their chaste women. However, He forbids eating the slaughtered animals of the Magians, and forbids marrying their women. But when at war with the people of the Book, Muslims are forbidden to marry their women or eat their slaughtered animals. If they antagonize Muslims in wartime, it is permissible to fight and kill them, to plunder their possessions, and to take captive their women and children born during war.

25- God makes lawful the spilling of the blood of Arab unbelievers, the confiscation of their money [and makes it permissible] to confront them and keep them away from the holy mosque. God forbids bequeathing unto them any inheritance, marrying one of them, or eating from their slaughtered animals. Further, He commands disapproval of their religion, refusal of their ransom or alms. They have no choice but to enter Islam or be slaughtered. This is the perfect tradition of the Prophet (peace be upon him) in relation to these religions. The just imams behaved similarly. A complete, effective, firm *sunnah* which the caliphs of God on earth apply without diminishing or exceeding it: "Thou shall find no changing the wont of God" (33:62).

God offers His forgiveness to all worshippers and establishes for them the proof through what He bestows on them with the elucidation, guidance, the distinguisher, the light, and the evidence, expounded by the messengers and the guides from among His servants. There is no doubt, ignorance or ambiguity; and God has clarified and provided for us evidence in detail. So whoever believes sincerely and seeks alleviation from God, will be

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(1) This is the poll-tax, which serves as compensation for unbelief; *EI*[2], s.v. "Dj̲izya".

rewarded and will be named [classified], by the One who classifies, and he will be protected. God will bestow upon him the fraternity of Islam, as well as his rights, so that he can get on with his people.

26- Insincere Muslims are not Muslims; they are only Muslims by name. True Muslims are those who adhere to the rules of Islam and achieve its aims through following the straight way of great ethics, which will take them to the highest degree of fulfilment. Then, a Muslim will be able to avoid betrayal, stay perpetually honest, reject villainous company, keep aloof from what pulls a person towards dishonesty, and resist the luring enticements of betrayal, since when a person is unaware of the entanglement of temptation, he repents, fails, and becomes deeply depressed. And he will harvest misfortune unto himself, as justice confirms, and he will be exposed to great misery which leads to [the class of] unfortunate people, who conceal their true abominable character and abolish their oaths with God. God certainly knows the exact matter as well as the incontrovertible outcome.

27- People differ in their intensity of belief, and they are treated differently in God's justice with respect to association, dissociation and postponement and nothing beyond that. This is what God's justice requires which the Imam who exercises authority in the name of God is obliged to follow. The Imam will be held responsible to treat people according to their deeds. He categorizes them [according to the categories mentioned above] and executes God's will in accordance with their status. When someone judges people without evidence and without knowing their status and rank, he commits a grave mistake by being unjust. Whoever deals with people as opponents and adversaries, is a transgressor and unjust. This is how these people are treated in this world and also they will be treated the same in the thereafter. Nevertheless, they are justly categorized according to their deeds, and no justice can be done for them. God says, "So as a consequence He put hypocrisy into their hearts, until the day they meet Him, for they failed God in that they promised Him and they were liars" (9:77).

It is for that reason that God calls them hypocrites, and for the disregard of what He commanded He called them profligates. [The category of] unbelief unites both polytheists and sinners among those who had accepted Islam, for there are two types of unbelief. The unbelief of *shirk* applies to those categorized as polytheists. The unbelief through

manifest acts is what hypocrites do, they had confirmed Islam officially, but abandoned the commands and obedience to God, and thus left Islam in secret. This is the outcome of overlooking His commands. It is His right that they should not practise what is unlawful and what is forbidden. This is how the people of *iqrār* (affirmation) are considered infidels: those whose judgment is adverse to what God has revealed. God says, "When they are called to God and His Messenger that he may judge between them, a party of them are swerving aside; but if they are in the right, they will come to him submissively. What, is there sickness in their hearts, or are they in doubt, or do they fear that God may be unjust towards them and His Messenger? Nay, but those – they are the evildoers. All that the believers say, when they are called to God and His Messenger, that he may judge between them, is that they say, 'We hear, and we obey'; those are the prosperous ones" (24:48-51). Therefore, with wrongful deeds, the people of hell go to hell; and with faith, the people of heaven are sent to heaven.

28- Islam is faith and faith is in Islam. Piety is also from faith. Each complements faith, fulfils its rights, and realizes its measures. However, it is beyond the boundaries of possibility for faith to be realised, if the religious ordinance of God is not maintained, or if what God forbids is practised, so keep away from this! Surely, the unbelievers are the wrongdoers and the profligates. Your deeds speak for you. When you do well you are judged positively, and when you do wrong, you are deemed unsatisfactory. God judges according to how we behave. Your behaviour and your deeds are indicative of your character. Your deeds incite either support or animosity. Certainly, this strengthens the bonds of Islam and establishes the firm pillars of association with or enmity to God. God was the first to disavow those who habitually commit sins, and [He was the first] to see them as enemies because of their [actions]. Then He made this an established [principle] and commanded [that] it [should be applied] to them. We follow the perfect tradition as well as God's commands when we act hostilely towards them [the people of sin]. We entrust the ones who pledge loyalty to God, are committed to obedience to His commands, are devout, and reject what He forbids. Our enemy is the perfidious one who is driven by his fancy, desire, enticement, and infatuation, and the one who deems permissible what God forbids and thereby becomes a sinner. Your Lord does not wrong His servants.

29- The hypocrites (*ahl al-manzilah bayna al-manzilatayn*) entered Islam, and acknowledged its duties and rights. They pretended to be content in the presence of Muslims. Yet, behind the Muslims' backs they marred their religion and contradicted what God commands. When they are reproved, they apologize. Nevertheless, when they are summoned to repent, they ask God's forgiveness, pretending to abhor their mistakes and repent of their sins. However, they go back to that for which they apologized, and to the same sins of which they repented. They are called back when they turn away, and they are gladly received when they return. Muslims can socialize with them if they repent. He who seals his deeds with true repentance is associated with Muslims. But the one who insists on being an unbeliever will not be associated with Muslims, and disassociating from him is obligatory. The worshippers' ends are extremely reliable: either enmity and hatred or friendship and satisfaction. God has strong arguments against the disobedient, but blessed are the rightly-guided, who are enlightened with God's guidance. And God "shall increase those who were guided in guidance" (19:76), "and the unbelievers it increases not, except in loss" (17:82).

We ask God for help in obeying Him, protection from sin, and success in following His guidance. The privileged are granted such guidance, and they enjoy felicity in God's care. We ask for prosperity from Him. Such a matter is easy for the Omnipotent. May the peace and blessings of God be upon us, and may His blessings be upon Muḥammad, with true thanks to God.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SĪRAH OF IMAM RĀSHID B. SAʿĪD TO THE PEOPLE OF MANṢŪRAH

3.1 Introduction

This *sīrah* is significant, because it helped to spread Ibāḍī ideas throughout Asia as well as to improve Oman's relationship with the Sind region, or *arḍ al-Hind*. It is one of the few documents that illustrate this relationship. Al-Sālimī discusses the probability of contact between Oman and the Sind region in the 5th/11th century, at the time of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd, who communicated the Ibāḍī doctrine to the people of this region.(1) In his survey of the spread of Ibāḍism in India and China, Lewicki cites this epistle as proof of this contact.(2) He suggests that this *sīrah* might be a political correspondence concerning whether or not the Ibāḍīs were able to obtain political independence.(3) Wilkinson also uses this *sīrah* to argue that the second imamate of Oman tried to restore the role of the first imamate in the Indian Ocean.(4)

Apart from the scholars mentioned above, most researchers on Omani history generally do not mention this *sīrah* or other jurisprudential works. The *sīrah* has so far been found only in three of the collections of Omani *siyar*. The collection *al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt* does not include the *sīrah* of Manṣūrah. No previous attempt has been made to publish or edit this *sīrah*. Thus this edition of the *sīrah* makes available new information about Ibāḍism in Asia.

3.2 Commentary

Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd al-Yaḥmadī is listed by Muḥammad al-Sālimī (d. 1985) in his *Nahḍat al-aʿyān* as the 24th Omani imam according to the

(1) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah,* 1: 308; al-Sālimī,ʿA., *Lumʿah*, 12.
(2) *EI²*, 3: 653.
(3) *EI²*, 3: 653.
(4) Wilkinson, "Omani and Ibāḍī Background", 131-147.

chronology of Omani imams, or the 16th imam according to the chronology of Banū Kharūṣ imams.[1] The Omani historical sources do not provide biographical details such as place and date of birth or where he grew up.

According to the Omani historical sources, Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd descended from Yaḥmad.[2] The eponymous progenitor of the Yaḥmad tribes is identified as Yaḥmad b. Ḥumā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nizār b. Zahrān b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Naṣr b. al-Azd b. al-Qutha al-Yaʿrubī from the Qaḥṭān tribe.[3] The important classical Omani work *K. al-Ansāb* mentions a Yaḥmadī among the companions of Mālik b. Fahm[4] and indicates that the Yaḥmad immigrated together with the Azd, since Mālik b. Fahm took Oman from the Persians.[5] This migration to Oman started after the Mārib dam burst in the 2nd century AD.[6] This particular branch of the Yaḥmad tribe had a prominent role and became influential in Omani political life in the second half of the 2nd/8th century, after the death of Imam Julandā b. Masʿūd in 134/751. The tribe's authority rose in Oman after the election of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān al-Yaḥmadī to the imamate (r. 177–179/793–795). Although the imam was dismissed from the imamate, most of the Omani imams who succeeded him in the first imamate were also descendants of Yaḥmad. Omani sources agree that the author was elected to the imamate after Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān had restored the second imamate in Oman.

Judging from his *sīrah* manifesto, which addresses the schism between the Rustāq and Nizwā schools over Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik and his opponents,[7] the author was probably born in Sawnī village that can be identified today as al-ʿAwābī, some 120 km west of Muscat. The *sīrah* was written in the imam's house in this village, located in the mouth of the valley of the Banū Kharūṣ. This tribe is not far from the Yaḥmad clan,[8] and it seems probable that he was born in this valley. Although

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(1) Al-Sālimī, M., *Nahḍat al-aʿyān bi-ḥurrīyat ahl ʿUmān,* 63.

(2) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 303; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, 35; Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman", 30.

(3) Al-ʿAwtabī, *al-Ansāb*, 1: 242; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq*, 1: 296.

(4) Al-ʿAwtabī, *al-Ansāb*, 1: 242.

(5) Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman", 7.

(6) Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 22; *EI*², s.v. "Mārib".

(7) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 308.

(8) Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiqāq,* 1: 298.

his date of birth remains unknown, we do know that he was elected to the imamate at the beginning of 425/1034.(1) Therefore, the imam is likely to have been born in the last quarter of the 4th/10th century. It is to be assumed that he was born between 390 and 395/1000 and 1005, since his name is not mentioned before the beginning of the 5th/11th century.

For further information about his life we can turn to al-Sālimī's study of the poetry of his contemporary, the Ibāḍī leader Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī.(2) According to al-Sālimī, Abū Isḥāq says that Imam Rāshid's *kunyah* is Abū Ghassān and that he made Nizwā the capital of the imamate.(3) Al-Sālimī also studies Imam Rāshid's imamate from the date of the previous Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān's death.(4) We know that Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd died in Muḥarram 445/April 1053, that he ruled the imamate for twenty years and that he was buried in Nizwā.(5)

Imam Rāshid displays characteristics of a poet that are rarely found in other Omani imams. He was considered both imam and *shārī*(6) when he was elected to the imamate. There is a text similar to that of the people who wanted to follow the imam elected among the Shurāh, which means the people who follow the idea of "selling" oneself in God's cause: "You, Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd, swear to obey God and His Messenger Muḥammad, and enjoin the good and forbid the evil, and conduct *jihād* in His cause, as well, you have to cooperate honestly with the people of *shurāh*."(7) He restructured the voluntary army of the *shurāt* system, aiming to assist the revolution against the foreign occupation.

Ibn al-Athīr describes the events of 442/1050, when the Omanis reoccupied the city of Oman(8) and fled with the Buyid prince of Abū al-Muṭahhar. They were led by a certain Ibn Rāshid, possibly Imam Rāshid

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(1) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 303-304.

(2) For more details on Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, see the introduction to his *Dīwān Sayf al-naqqād*.

(3) This refers to Abū Isḥāq's poetry, in which he praises Imam Rāshid and says: "there is an imam in Nizwā who has been elected". Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 304, 307.

(4) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah,* 1: 303.

(5) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah,* 1: 307.

(6) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 155.

(7) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 304.

(8) Ibn al-Athīr may mean that the Omanis occupied Sohar when it was known as *qaṣabat* (capital) *ʿUmān*; see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, 3: 393; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6: 292.

b. Saʿīd b. Rāshid. Moreover, Ibn al-Athīr believes that Imam Rāshid had been named Ibn Rāshid after his grandfather. Throughout the revolution Imam Rāshid was able to withhold tax from the Buyids when his authority had expanded over the Omani coast and the Buyids had temporarily lost control over three years between 1050 and 1053.(1) Nevertheless, the imam's attempt to expand his authority over the desert as well as the coast led him to turn towards southern Oman in Ḥaḍramawt to support the Ibāḍīs and their leader Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays al-Ḥaḍramī against the Sulayhids. In this way the imam fought the other tribes opposing him, that is the ʿAqīl and Nahd tribes in al-Aḥsāʾ.(2)

Classical Arabic literature gives a clear picture of the city of Manṣūrah in the Sind region,(3) the origin of its name, and its golden age when it flourished as a trading market for all the Islamic states from the 3rd/9th to the 6th/12th century. The city was regarded as the capital of the Sind region (*ʿāṣimat al-miṣr*) and was perhaps the greatest city in Sind.(4) The city still exists and has kept its name. It is located in Pakistan, but is no longer linked to the Arabian Peninsula as it had been in the past. Al-Muqaddasī states that it used to be at the border of the Islamic state and that it had declined greatly from its past glory.(5)

Manṣūrah's geography and history are a source of debate for many historians. Some argue that the name Manṣūrah is derived from the Arabic word *naṣr* (victory).(6) Al-Bīrūnī claims that it refers to al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. al-Munabbih al-Thaqafī, who entered the city and said "*nuṣirtu* (I am victorious)". This was during the time when al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafī took over Sind.(7) However, al-Masʿūdī argues that the name originated from one of the founders: "… Manṣūrah refers to Manṣūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the deputy of the Umayyads."(8) Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī disagrees, saying, "It was named al-Manṣūrah because it

(1) Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government", 89.
(2) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 305. Al-Sālimī says that these tribes lived in al-Aḥsāʾ (the eastern region of Saudi Arabia on the Persian Gulf).
(3) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam*, 4: 211; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik* 477; Yāqūt, *al-Mushtarik waḍʿan wa-al-muftariq ṣuqʿan*, 405; al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab,* 3: 379.
(4) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479.
(5) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479.
(6) Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3: 379.
(7) Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 72.
(8) Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3: 379.

was built by ʿĀmir b. Ḥafṣ al-Huzmrad al-Muhallabī during the rule of al-Manṣūr of the ʿAbbasids."[(1)] Al-Bīrūnī explains the etymology of its name before it became known as Manṣūrah. He says that it was called Bamnhūr, and that the Persians used to call it Bāhmnaz.[(2)] In *Zīj al-Arkand* it was known as Barhamnābād.[(3)] Al-Iṣṭakhrī notes that in the Sind region it was known as Bāmīrāmān.[(4)] It could be argued that the name Manṣūrah emerged in the Islamic period. Perhaps the city was established before Islam and renamed in honour of its developer, Manṣūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī.

It could also be argued that the city was relocated by Manṣūr b. Jamhūr al-Kalbī, the deputy of the Sind region, at the end of Umayyad period,[(5)] because most of the geographical writers hold that the location of Bamnhūr is al-Manṣūrah. According to Yāqūt, Manṣūrah was considered to be in the third province;[(6)] on the other hand, al-Bīrūnī considers it to be in the second province.[(7)] The cities belonging to the second province were al-Daybul, Zindrj, Qadār, Mābile, and Tanbliy.[(8)] Al-Muqaddasī says that al-Manṣūrah is six leagues (sing. *marḥalah*)[(9)] from al-Daybul, twelve leagues from al-Multān, and fifteen leagues from Tawrān.[(10)] Manṣūrah was among the most remote Islamic cities,[(11)] located in a hot and rainy province.[(12)]

The city is located at the Gulf of the Mahrān river,[(13)] which makes it possible for the city to expand,[(14)] and is referred to as a peninsula. The architecture of the city was planned as in other classical Islamic cities. It had a wall built with wood and clay[(15)] with four gates: *bāb al-baḥr*, *bāb*

(1) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.
(2) Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 72.
(3) Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 72.
(4) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 173.
(5) Yāqūt, *al-Mushtarik*, 405.
(6) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.
(7) Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 72.
(8) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479.
(9) *EI*[2], s.v. "Marḥala".
(10) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479.
(11) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 479.
(12) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 477.
(13) The Mahrān river is the Sind river; see al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 477; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 173.
(14) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.
(15) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.

tawrān, *bāb sindān*, and *bāb al-multān*.[1] These architectural features distinguish Manṣūrah from other cities. The mosque was built with rocks and baked brick and was said to be similar to the Omani Mosque (probably in Sohar city), in the sense that both had many pillars made of Indian oak.[2] The city grew during the medieval period, on account of being a trading point between the Islamic state and India. The river contributed to the development of agricultural export, mostly of sugarcane and a fruit similar in size to an apple, with a very sour taste, referred to as *bahlawīyah*.[3]

The people of the city are described as intelligent, courageous, righteous, religious, and trustworthy merchants.[4] They possessed a great knowledge of Islam, as can be gathered from the great number of scholars that originated from there.[5] Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that they used money called *qundahāriyāt*; each dirham was roughly equivalent to five *qundahāriyāt*. They also used the dinar as currency for commerce. They dressed like Iraqis, while their kings dressed like Indian kings.[6]

Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd's epistle is divided into four parts, which consist of an enjoinder to piety, history, polemics, and the doctrinal stance, respectively. The first part is a preliminary statement that largely consists of stylized remarks and some indications of doctrine. Parts two and three consist of quotations from other *siyar* that often appear in works on theology and jurisprudence, which serve to develop and define the epistle vis-à-vis other doctrines.

The epistle is not simply a letter to the people of Manṣūrah; rather, it is a manifesto, which occasionally addresses its readers or listeners directly. At the end of the epistle, the author says, "Listener! Definitely, you have the true knowledge about life and you have unveiled authentic enlightenment;" "truly, you know better after you have seen with your own eyes, and have heard with your own ears." This style makes use of the regular format used by the Omanis in *siyar* when corresponding with other regions. The *siyar* by Abū ʿUbaydah and Abū Mawdūd to al-Fadal b. Kathīr, Imam Muhannā to Muʿādh b. Ḥarb, and Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik to

(1) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 477.
(2) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 477.
(3) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.
(4) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 211.
(5) Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 477.
(6) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 321.

the people of North Africa are all written in a similar style. The *sīrah* in question makes use of the imperative (*al-fiʿl al-amr*), "you should, you have to, you should be." At the beginning of the epistle we read "*fa-innī āmurukum* (I command you)", a form that is common in texts of this kind and always appears at the beginning of a paragraph. Such introductory parts are imperatives, known as *waṣiyah bi-al-taqwā*, and are here employed by the imam to address some theological issues, in an attempt to proclaim his ideas of Ibāḍī dogma.

The epistle warns its audience not to make the mistakes against which it cautions them. For example, the author says, "I shall warn you," "I shall also tell you," and "we remind you of what we have mentioned." It is clear that the imam was in a position to influence the Sind region. Some authors limit themselves to the phrase *nūṣīkum bi-al-taqwā* (we enjoin you to fear God), or *ittaqū Allāh* (you must fear God), while others enlarge upon this theme. In the *sīrah* of Manṣūrah, the development of this theme takes up no less than four pages. These four pages are concerned with sin and its consequences.

In his introduction and conclusion the imam employs a style that is characteristic of sermons; the same style is used in the Friday prayer.(1) In his introduction, the author omits the usual *ammā baʿd*, which normally comes directly after the *taḥmīd* and is common especially in epistolary and oratory genres. The author, for example, uses this style of introduction in a letter to the governor of Manaḥ.(2) The introductions to other Omani *siyar* are written in a similar style, for example, the introductions to the *sīrah* of Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb to the people of Oman regarding Hārūn b. al-Yamān,(3) the *sīrah* of Abū Qaḥṭān Khālid b. Qaḥṭān,(4) and the *sīrah* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī.(5) These *siyar* were written at an earlier time than the epistle in question. The author of this epistle omits the *ṣalāt ʿalā al-nabī* after the *taḥmīd* and only mentions it in the conclusion. Some dwell on this theme at much greater length than others. Some limit themselves to remarks about the Prophet and his successors; some explain God's revelation of the religion to His

(1) Calder, "Friday Prayer and the Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī", 36.

(2) Al-Kindī, M., *Bayān al-sharʿ*, 38.

(3) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 273.

(4) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 81.

(5) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 2: 62.

Messenger. The same style is used by Ibāḍī writers to show the main tenets of other faiths and how the rule of Ibāḍism was established after the death of the Prophet. The genealogy of the Ibāḍī people is also described.

The most important source quoted in Imam Rāshid's epistle is the Qurʾān. He quotes from it liberally, in fact more than seventy times, prefacing verses with different expressions, such as *qāla Allāh*, *wa-qāla taʿālā*, and *wa-qāla fī muḥkam kitābih.* The quotations from the Qurʾān are used in several different ways. Occasionally, they support the author's arguments, showing, for example, that God has not forgiven the obstinate people (*al-muṣirrūn ʿalā al-dhunūb*) who persist in sinful behaviour. In the first part of his epistle, the author attacks other doctrines, especially those of the Ḥashwīyah and the Ashʿarīyah. Each quotation from the Qurʾān is supplemented with only a short exegesis or gloss, which does not always give full and comprehensive support to his argument, as can be seen in his use of *al-Anʿām* 6:158. The author replies to the other doctrines by illustrating and comparing the opinions of the people who claimed that even if they persisted in sinning, God would forgive them on the day of judgment. He calls this an idea of sinful Muslims who claim that God will forgive their sins just because they have faith. This idea, the author argues, comes from the ideology of Jews and Christians and is obviously untrue, as can be gathered from the verse in the Qurʾān in which God said, "Nay, you are but men, of the men He has created. He forgives whom He pleases, and punishes whom He pleases."[1] In another verse about the Jews He said, "Have you taken a promise from God, (for He never breaks His promise)? Or is it that you say of God that which you do not know?"[2] The author uses classical Arabic throughout the epistle for quotations from the Qurʾān as well as from other literary sources. He carefully distinguishes between his own text and his sources.

In addition to the Qurʾān, the author incorporates the *sunnah* of the Prophet into his arguments, though more rarely. The epistle includes three *ḥadīth*s of the Prophet. The first is used as evidence against the idea of persistence in sin, and the second and third are used to explain jurisprudential opinions. Clearly, the author considered it necessary to demonstrate the use of *ḥadīth* in argumentation, but it is nonetheless

(1) Qurʾān, *al-Māʾidah* 5:18.
(2) Qurʾān, *al-Baqarah* 2:81.

apparent that, in general, the authors of Omani *siyar* rarely resort to *ḥadīth*, giving preference to the Qurʾān instead.

Another source of quotation is classical Arabic poetry, used in the manner of *shawāhid*, quotations serving as textual evidence. All the poets quoted are from the Jāhilī period,[(1)] for example, ʿAntarah b. Shaddād and Ṭarafah b. al-ʿAbd. It seems that Omani *siyar* of the first and second periods do not include quotations from poetry. This changes in the Omani *siyar* of the third period. For example, the *sīrah* of Muḥammad b. Mālik, also known as the *sīrah* from the Bāṭinah people, uses poetry to support Imam Muḥammad b. Abī Ghassān.

The imam adopts the expressive style of Ibāḍī speech, as did Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī in Mecca: "We are from the people and the people are from us, except three kinds of people…".[(2)] This is similar to the classification of people used by Munīr b. al-Nayyir in his epistle to Imam Ghassān b. ʿAbd Allāh.[(3)]

The terminology used by the imam continued to be employed in Ibāḍī theological compilations. The epistle's message is conventional and designed to give the audience a vision and sense of identity through a discussion of their creed and faith. In the epistle the imam tries to classify people as Muslims or non-Muslims, and as Ibāḍīs or non-Ibāḍīs. Muslims are referred to as *ahl al-iqrār* (the people of confession) or *ahl al-qiblah* (the people of the prayer niche, i.e. who pray in the same direction). They are people of confession, because they say *lā ilāha illā Allāh wa-Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, and they are people of direction, because they direct their prayer to Mecca. Sometimes non-Ibāḍī Muslims are called *qawm* (group). The imam also distinguishes between what people say and what they do. Sinful believers are called *kuffār al-niʿam* (the ingrates) or *al-munāfiqūn min ahl al-iqrār* (the hypocrites among the Muslims). These terms are characteristic of Ibāḍī compilations.

The introduction and the conclusion are written in rhythmic prose, and in between the author gives advice on abandoning a life of material pleasures.

The doctrinal part of the epistle covers three themes: 1) God does not forgive the persistently sinful; 2) the persistently sinful will dwell in hellfire

(1) *EI*^{2}, s.v. "D̲j̲āhilī".

(2) Al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 23: 241-243.

(3) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 299.

forever; 3) both the tyrannical leaders and those who obey them are sinful. They are explained in order to guide people so that they may enjoin the good (*maʿrūf*) and forbid the evil (*munkar*). These three themes form one doctrine, which is devised especially to govern human relations.

3.3 The Text

بسمِ اللهِ الرحمنِ الرحيم

١- مِن الإمامِ راشدِ بنِ سعيدٍ إلى أبــي العبّاسِ بنِ مريجٍ[١]، والمُهنّدِ[٢] بنِ سدهى[٣]، وأبــي عبدِالله[٤] بنِ محمدِ بنِ بروزانَ: سلامُ اللهِ عليكم[٥]، فإنّي أحمَدُ إليكُمُ اللهَ، وآمُرُكم بطاعتِه وأُوصيكُم، وأنهاكم عن معصيةِ القــادرِ علــيكم، فاتّقوا اللهَ فيما ساءَكُم أو سَرَّكُم، أو نفَعكُم أو ضَرّكُم، وكُونوا للهِ شــاكرينَ، ولِدينهِ[٦] ناصِرينَ، ولأهلِ طاعتِه مُؤازِرينَ، وبالمعروفِ عاملِينَ آمِــرينَ، وعــن المُنكرِ مُنتهِينَ وزاجِرين، ولطاعةِ اللهِ مُبادِرين، وعلى ما أصابَكُم فيها صــابرين، تَحمَدُوا عاقبةَ ذلك[٧] يومَ تَفتقرونَ إلى صالحِ أعمالِكم، وتَستغنُونَ[٨] عن أهلِكم وأموالِكم، وتَنقطعونَ[٩] عن حِيَلِكم وآمالِكم، وما التوفيقُ إلا باللهِ، وعلــى اللهِ فليتوكّلِ المؤمنون.

٢- ثُم إني أُحذّرُكم مِن مَكائدِ الشيطان، وممّن[١٠] يُوازِرُه[١١] على ذلِكُــم

(١) مريج: مريح، N، C.
(٢) المهند: المهتد، C.
(٣) سدهى: شدها، C.
(٤) أبــي عبدالله: عبدالله، C.
(٥) سلام الله عليكم: سلام عليكم، N.
(٦) لدِينه: لديه، S.
(٧) ذلك: ذلكم، S، N، C.
(٨) تستغنون: يسغنون، S.
(٩) تنقطعون: يقطعون، S.
(١٠) ممّن: من، S.
(١١) يُوازره: يوازي على ذلك، C.

من الأعوانِ، منهم أنفسُكم وهواكُم وشهواتُكم ودُنياكم، وقد قال اللهُ تعـــالى: ﴿... إِنَّ النَّفْسَ لأَمَّارَةٌ بالسُّوءِ إِلاَّ مَا رَحِمَ رَبِّي إِنَّ رَبِّي غَفُورٌ رَحِـــيمٌ﴾ (١٢: ٥٣)، وقال: ﴿أَفَرَأَيْتَ(١) مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إِلَهَهُ هَوَاهُ وَأَضَلَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ وَخَتَمَ عَلَـــى سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اللَّهِ أَفَلاَ تَـــذَكَّرُونَ﴾ (٤٥: ٢٣)، وقال(٢): ﴿... وَيُرِيدُ الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الشَّـــهَوَاتِ أَنْ تَمِيلُـــوا مَـــيْلاً عَظِيمًا﴾ (٤: ٢٧)، وقال: ﴿اعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا لَعِبٌ وَلَهْوٌ وَزِينَةٌ وَتَفَاخُرٌ بَيْنَكُمْ(٣) وَتَكَاثُرٌ فِي الأَمْوَالِ وَالأَوْلاَدِ كَمَثَلِ غَيْثٍ أَعْجَبَ الْكُفَّارَ نَبَاتُهُ ثُمَّ يَهِيجُ فَتَرَاهُ مُصْفَرًّا ثُمَّ يَكُونُ حُطَامًا وَفِي الآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ(٤) وَمَغْفِرَةٌ مِـــنَ اللَّـــهِ وَرِضْوَانٌ وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا إِلاَّ مَتَاعُ الْغُرُورِ﴾ (٥٧: ٢٠).

٣- وبَعْدَ هذا، فتقرّبُوا إلى الله بمحبّةِ أوليائِه، وتَباعَدُوا عن سخطِه ببُغضِ أعدائِه، فإنّ اللهَ يقولُ في مُحْكَمِ كتابه الذي(٥) لا يأتِيهِ الباطلُ مِن بين يدَيـــهِ ولا مِن خَلْفِه(٦): ﴿وَلاَ تَرْكَنُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْلِيَاءَ ثُمَّ لاَ تُنْصَرُونَ﴾ (١١: ١١٣). ألاَ فافْهَمُوا عنِ الـــرحيمِ الـــرحمن، وتَدبّرُوا في آياتِ القرآن، فإنّ اللهَ قد أمَرَ بذلك، إذ يقولُ: ﴿كِتَابٌ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ إِلَيْكَ مُبَارَكٌ لِيَدَّبَّرُوا آيَاتِهِ وَلِيَتَذَكَّرَ أُولُوا الأَلْبَابِ﴾ (٣٨: ٢٩)، وإنما هلَكَ في النـــاسِ رجُلان: رجلٌ أشركَ بالرحمن، ورجلٌ تَجاهَلَ على اللهِ بعدَ العِرفان(٧)، وأخذَ(٨) بفتنةِ الشيطان، وهو مع ذلك يرى أنه مِن أهلِ الإحسان. وقد قالَ اللهُ تعالى في

(١) أفرأيت: افريت، N؛ أفرايت، S.
(٢) وقال: -، C.
(٣) بينكم: بيكم، S.
(٤) شديد: سديد، S.
(٥) الذي: الدى، S.
(٦) خلفه: خلفه وقال: C.
(٧) العِرفان: الامر، C.
(٨) وأخذ: فان اخذ، C.

ذلك: ﴿أَفَمَنْ زُيِّنَ لَهُ سُوءُ عَمَلِهِ فَرَآهُ حَسَنًا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُضِلُّ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ فَلاَ تَذْهَبْ نَفْسُكَ عَلَيْهِمْ حَسَرَاتٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ﴾ (٣٥: ٨)، وقال: ﴿أَفَرَأَيْتَ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إِلَهَهُ هَوَاهُ وَأَضَلَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ وَخَتَمَ عَلَى سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اللَّهِ أَفَلاَ تَذَكَّرُونَ[١]﴾ (٤٥: ٢٣)، وقالَ تعالى في الشِّرْكِ: ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لاَ يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَنْ يُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلاَلاً بَعِيدًا[٢]﴾ (٤: ١١٦). وإنما "يَغفرُ ما دُونَ ذلك لِمنْ يشاءُ" يعني: يغفرُ ما دونَ ذلك من الذنوبِ مع التوبةِ مِنها والإقلاعِ عنها. إنه قد بيّنَ ذلك وأخبرَ بهِ في مُحكمِ كتابه، حيثُ يقولُ: ﴿وَإِنِّي لَغَفَّارٌ لِمَنْ تَابَ وَآمَنَ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا ثُمَّ اهْتَدَى﴾ (٢٠: ٨٢). ودليلُ ذلك قولُهُ لِلمُشركينَ مِن أهلِ الكتاب وهُمُ اليهودُ والنصارى إذ قالوا: ﴿... نَحْنُ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحِبَّاؤُهُ...﴾ (٥: ١٨) قال اللهُ: ﴿قُلْ﴾ يا مُحمّد ﴿... فَلِمَ يُعَذِّبُكُمْ بِذُنُوبِكُمْ بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ...﴾ (٥: ١٨). وقد عَلِم أُولُو الألبابِ أنّ اللهَ تعالى إنما يَغفرُ لليهودِ والنصارى عِندَ[٣] تَركِهم لليهوديةِ والنصرانيةِ ودُخولِهم في[٤] الإسلامِ، وتوبتِهم ممّا كانوا عليه من الشِّركِ الحرام؛ لأنَّ اللهَ قد بيّنَ [ذلك] بقولِه[٥]: ﴿وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ[٦] غَيْرَ الإِسْلاَمِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ﴾ (٣: ٨٥). وكذلك إنما يَغفرُ لأهلِ المعاصي والكبائر مِن أهلِ الإقرار مع تركِهم لذلك ورُجوعِهم عنهُ بالتوبة والندم والاستغفار، ولن[٧] يغفرَ اللهُ لهم ذلك معَ الإصرار؛ لأنه تعالى يقولُ:

(١) تَذَكَّرُون: تدكرون، S.
(٢) فقد ضلّ ضلالاً بعيداً: –، C.
(٣) عند: مع، S، N، C.
(٤) في: –، C.
(٥) بقوله: لقوله، C.
(٦) يبتغ: يتبع، C.
(٧) ولن: لن، S.

﴿... وَلَمْ يُصِرُّوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلُوا وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ (٣: ١٣٥). وقال رسولُه[١] – صلّى الله عليه وسلم–: "هَلَكَ المُصِرُّون قدماً إلى النارِ". وقد أخبرَ اللهُ تعالى عن ولدِ آدمَ صلى الله عليه وسلم، حيثُ يقولُ لأخيهِ وقد قَرّبا قُرباناً فتُقبّلَ مِن أحدِهما و لم يُتقَبَّلْ مِن الآخر، فقال لهُ عندَ ذلك: "لأَقتُلَنّكَ"، قال لهُ أخوهُ مُجيباً[٢] له: ﴿... إِنَّمَا يَتَقَبَّلُ اللَّهُ مِنَ الْمُتَّقِينَ﴾ (٥: ٢٧). ففي[٣] هذا بيانٌ لِمن كان لهُ قلبٌ أو ألقى السمعَ وهو شهيدٌ أنّ اللهَ لا يَقبلُ الطاعةَ مِن العاصينَ وإنما يتقبّلُها[٤] من المُتّقين؛ لأنه لم يَتقبّل مِن ولدِ آدمَ، وهو عاصٍ لهُ، قُربانَهُ الذي تَقرّبَ بهِ إليهِ[٥]، وتَقبّلَ مع ذلكَ قُربانَ أخيه. فمَن زَعَمَ أنّ اللهَ تعالى يتقبّلُ الطاعةَ مِنَ العاصينَ ويَغفِرُ الذنوبَ للمُصِرّين، كذَّبهُ القرآنُ وأعجزَهُ البرهانُ؛ لأنّ اللهَ يقول: ﴿إِنَّمَا التَّوْبَةُ عَلَى اللَّهِ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السُّوءَ بِجَهَالَةٍ ثُمَّ يَتُوبُونَ مِنْ قَرِيبٍ فَأُولَئِكَ[٦] يَتُوبُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا﴾ (٤: ١٧). ثم قال: ﴿وَلَيْسَتِ التَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبْتُ الآنَ وَلاَ الَّذِينَ يَمُوتُونَ وَهُمْ كُفَّارٌ أُولَئِكَ أَعْتَدْنَا لَهُمْ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا﴾ (٤: ١٨). أفمَا تَراهُ تعالى ذَكَرَ الذينَ يعملونَ السيئاتِ ثم نفَى التوبةَ عنهم إذا أقاموا على[٧] سيئاتِهم حتى إذا حضرَهُمُ الموتُ، كما قالَ تعالى[٨]: ﴿... حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ...﴾ يعني: إذا عايَنَ ملَكَ الموتِ ﴿... قَالَ إِنِّي تُبْتُ الآنَ وَ[٩] لاَ الَّذِينَ يَمُوتُونَ وَهُمْ كُفَّارٌ...﴾ يعني: مُشركينَ، فجَمعَ بينهم وقالَ: ﴿... أَعْتَدْنَا لَهُمْ

(١) رسوله: رسول الله، C.
(٢) مُجيباً: مخيبا، S.
(٣) ففي: في، S.
(٤) يتقبّلها: يقبلها، S.
(٥) إليه: اليك، S.
(٦) فأولئك: اوليك، N.
(٧) على: في، S، N، C.
(٨) قال تعالى: قال، S، N.
(٩) و: وقال، N.

عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا﴾ يعني: وجيعاً. وقال[١] أيضاً[٢] في سُورةٍ أخرى: ﴿هَلْ يَنْظُرُونَ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَأْتِيَهُمُ الْمَلاَئِكَةُ أَوْ يَأْتِيَ رَبُّكَ أَوْ يَأْتِيَ بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ يَوْمَ يَأْتِي بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ لاَ يَنْفَعُ نَفْسًا إِيمَانُهَا لَمْ تَكُنْ آمَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْ كَسَبَتْ فِي إِيمَانِهَا خَيْرًا...﴾ (٦: ١٥٨) يعني: لم تكُن[٣] صدّقتَ من قَبلِ الآياتِ[٤] بالإيمان، وهي النفسُ المُشركة، ثُم قالَ في النفسِ المُصدِّقةِ بالإيمان: ﴿... أَوْ كَسَبَتْ فِي إِيمَانِهَا خَيْرًا...﴾ يعني: في تصديقِها عملاً صالحاً.

٤- وقد رُوي أنّ الحَسنَ بنَ أبـي[٥] الحسنِ البصري دخلَ على جابرِ بنِ زَيدٍ -رحمه اللهُ[٦]- وهو يجُودُ[٧] بنفسه للموت: فقالَ لهُ: يا أبا[٨] الشعثاء، قُـل: لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ!، فسَكتَ جابرٌ، فأعادَ عليهِ القولَ، فقالَ: يا أبا الشعثاء، قُـل: لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ!، فلم يُجبْهُ[٩]، فقال الحسنُ: لا حولَ ولا قُوةَ إلا بالله، رجـلٌ مِثـلُ جابرِ بنِ زيدٍ لمْ يُرزَقْ عندَ موتِه شهادةَ أنْ لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ؟ ثُم أعادَ عليهِ القـولَ ثالثةً[١٠]، فقالَ لهُ: يا أبا الشعثاء، قُل لا إلهَ إلا اللهُ!، فقالَ جابرٌ: قد طـالَ مـا قُلناها إنْ تُقبّلتْ، ثُمّ تَلا هذه الآيةَ: ﴿هَلْ يَنْظُرُونَ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَـأْتِيَهُمُ الْمَلاَئِكَـةُ أَوْ يَأْتِيَ رَبُّكَ[١١] أَوْ يَأْتِيَ بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ يَوْمَ يَأْتِي بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ لاَ يَنْفَعُ نَفْسًا إِيمَانُهَا لَمْ تَكُنْ آمَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْ كَسَبَتْ فِي إِيمَانِهَا خَيْـرًا قُـلِ انْتَظِـرُوا إِنَّـا

(١) وقال: فقال، S.
(٢) أيضاً: –، S.
(٣) تكن: يكن، C.
(٤) الآيات: –، S.
(٥) أبـي الحسن: الحسن، C.
(٦) رحمه الله: –، S.
(٧) يجود: يحول، S.
(٨) أبا: با، N.
(٩) يُجبه: يجب، S، N.
(١٠) ثالثة: –، S.
(١١) أو يأتي ربك: او يأتي ربك أو يأتي أمر ربك، C.

مُنْتَظِرُونَ﴾ (٦: ١٥٨)، فقالَ الحسنُ: عالِمٌ وربِّ الكعبةِ!.

٥- فإنْ زعَم أحدٌ أنّ اللهَ لا يُخْلِدُ في النارِ أحداً من أهلِ الإقرار، وتَأوّلَ في ذلك قولَ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ شَقُوا فَفِي النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وَشَهِيقٌ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالأَرْضُ إلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾ (١١: ١٠٦-١٠٧)، فقالَ إنّ اللهَ قد[١] استثنى مِن فعلِه حينَ[٢] أخبرَ بخلُودِهم في النار، ولا بدّ للاستثناءِ أنْ يقعَ على شيءٍ أو يَهدِمَ شيئاً في الإخبارِ والإقرار، ولا يجوزُ ذلك الاستثناءُ مِن اللهِ كلاماً فارغاً لا معنًى فيهِ ولا فائدةَ لديه. قُلنا: إنّ اللهَ تعالى أنْ يكون[٣] كلامُه فارغاً مِن المعنى والفائدةِ والحكمةِ البالغة وغيرِ ذلكَ، غيرَ أنكَ[٤] جَهِلتَ عدْلَ التنزيلِ و[٥] أخطأتَ في التأويلِ؛ لأنّ الاستثناءَ هاهنا لم يَقَعْ على ما توهَّمْتَهُ واعتمدتَ عليهِ وذهبتَ في تأويلِكَ إليهِ، وإنما وقعَ على ما مضى مِن ساعاتِ يومِ الفصل، التي لم يدخُلِ النارَ فيها أهلُ العذاب، لِما[٦] علِمَ اللهُ تعالى من اشتغالِهم في تلكَ الساعاتِ مِن أولِ يومِهم بما لا بدّ لهم[٧] مِن السؤالِ والجواب ومُناقشة الحساب. وبيانُ ذلك قولُهُ تعالى في أولِ الخطاب: ﴿... ذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ مَجْمُوعٌ لَهُ النَّاسُ وَذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ مَشْهُودٌ * وَمَا نُؤَخِّرُهُ[٨] إلاَّ لأَجَلٍ مَعْدُودٍ﴾ (١١: ١٠٣-١٠٤)، ثم قالَ: ﴿يَوْمَ يَأْتِ...﴾ معنى[٩]: ذلك الأجل ﴿... لاَ تَكَلَّمُ نَفْسٌ إلاَّ بإِذْنِهِ فَمِنْهُمْ شَقِيٌّ وَسَعِيدٌ﴾ (١١: ١٠٥). ثم أَخبرَ، فقالَ: ﴿فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ شَقُوا فَفِي النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وَشَهِيقٌ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا

(١) قد: -، S.
(٢) حين: فان حين، S، N، C.
(٣) أن يكون: أنلا يكون، N.
(٤) أنك: -، S.
(٥) و: أو، S.
(٦) لما: بما، C.
(٧) بُدّ لهم: يدلهم، S؛ بد له، C.
(٨) نُؤخّره: يوخره، C.
(٩) معنى: يعني، C.

دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالأَرْضُ إِلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾ (١١: ١٠٦-١٠٧) يعني[١]: ما شاءَ مِن ذلكَ اليومِ العظيم – على ما فسّرهُ أهلُ العلمِ – لاشتغالِهم في أولِ يومِهم بشأنِ يومِ القيامةِ مِن المُساءَلةِ[٢] والمُحاسَبةِ؛ لأنه تعالى لو لم يَستثنِ ذلكَ بعدَ أنْ أَخبرَ بدخولِهم في النارِ وخلودِهم[٣] فيها إذا جاءَ اليومُ الذي ذكَره، لَوَجبَ أن يُدخِلَهم في النارِ ويُخلِدَهُم في العذابِ مِن أولِ يومِ الحساب، ودليلُ الحقِّ المُبينِ في صحّةِ هذا التفسيرِ قولُهُ: ﴿إِلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾ يعني[٤]: مِنْ ذلكَ اليومِ العظيم. ولم يقُل: مَن شاءَ ربُّك، فيخُصّ بعضَ[٥] أصحابِ الجحيم. فافهمُوا ذلك واعلموا أنّ اللهَ تعالى لم يقُلْ في كلامِه: خالدِينَ فيها ما دامتِ السمواتُ والأرضُ[٦] إلا ما شاءَ ربُّكَ من أهلِ الإقرار!.

٦- فبأيِّ دليلٍ زعَمَ صاحبُ ذلكَ التأويلِ أنّهم مخصُوصونَ بالخروجِ دُونَ الكُفّار؟! فإنْ قالَ: لأنّ اللهَ تعالى[٧] يقولُ: ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لاَ يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ[٨] مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ...﴾، فدلّ ذلك [على] أنه لا يَغفرُ للكُفّارِ وإنما يغفرُ لأهلِ الإقرارِ، قُلنا لهُ: وقد قالَ اللهُ للمشركينَ وهمُ اليهودُ والنصارى مِثلَ ذلكَ، حيثُ يقول: ﴿... بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ...﴾ (٥: ١٨)، فقد بطلتْ حُجّتُك في ذلكَ عليكَ[٩] وصحَّ ما بيّناه مِن فسادِ دَعاوِيك.

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(١) يعني: –، S، N.
(٢) المُسائلة: مسايلة، S، N، C.
(٣) خلودهم: دخولهم، S، N.
(٤) يعني: –، S، N.
(٥) بعض: بعد، C.
(٦) والأرض: –، C.
(٧) الله تعالى: الله، S، N.
(٨) يغفر: –، C.
(٩) عليك: +، N.

٧- فإنِ احتجَّ بقول الله تعالى: ﴿وَإِنْ مِنْكُمْ إِلاَّ[١] وَارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَى رَبِّكَ حَتْمًا مَقْضِيًّا * ثُمَّ نُنَجِّي الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا وَنَذَرُ الظَّالِمِينَ فِيهَا جِثِيًّا﴾ (١٩: ٧١-٧٢)، قُلنا: ليس في هذهِ الآيةِ حُجّةٌ لك على ما تدّعيه؛ لأنّ الوُرُودَ إليها ليس بدُخولٍ فيها[٢]، ألاَ تَرى إلى قولِ الله تعالى: ﴿وَلَمَّا وَرَدَ مَاءَ مَدْيَنَ وَجَدَ عَلَيْهِ أُمَّةً مِنَ النَّاسِ يَسْقُونَ...﴾ (٢٨: ٢٣). وإنما وُرودُه بوُصولِه إليه، ليسَ بدخولِه فيه[٣]. وقد يقولُ القائلُ لغيرِهِ: قد ورَدَ إليَّ كِتابُكَ، ووَرَدَ علَيّ أمرُكَ وخِطابُكَ. وليس يعني أنَّ كِتابه دخلَ فيه، بل يريدُ أنّهُ أتاهُ ووقَفَ عليه. ولَعَمْري لقد كذَبَ على الله فخالَفَ[٤] ما نَطقَ بهِ كتابُ الله مَنْ زَعَمَ أنّ اللهَ يُخْرِجُ قوماً مِنَ الجحيمِ ويُدخِلُهم في جنّاتِ النعيم، قدْ أَكذَبَهُ اللهُ بقولِه في بيّناتِ آياتِه: ﴿بَلَى مَنْ كَسَبَ سَيِّئَةً وَأَحَاطَتْ بِهِ خَطِيئَتُهُ...﴾ يعني: أَصَرَّ على السيّئةِ التي اكتسَبها حتى ماتَ عليها ﴿فَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾ (٢: ٨١). وقال أيضاً في المُنافق من أهلِ الإقرار والمُشركِ من الكُفّار: ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَالْكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا هِيَ حَسْبُهُمْ وَلَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُقِيمٌ﴾ (٩: ٦٨). فما بعْدَ هذا مِن الإيضاحِ والبيانِ لِمَنْ شَفاهُ اللهُ بآياتِ القُرآنِ. فإنْ قالَ: إنّ القُرآنَ ناسخٌ ومنسوخٌ، وقد يجُوزُ أنْ يكونَ قولُ الله تعالى: ﴿بَلَى مَنْ كَسَبَ سَيِّئَةً وَأَحَاطَتْ بِهِ خَطِيئَتُهُ فَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾ (٢: ٨١) منسوخاً بقوله: ﴿فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ شَقُوا فَفِي النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وَشَهِيقٌ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالأَرْضُ إِلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾ (١١: ١٠٦-١٠٧)؛ لأنه قد استثنى في هذه الآية، قُلنا لهُ: قد مضى جوابُنا لك واحتجاجُنا عليكَ في تفسيرِ هذهِ الآية.

(١) إلاّ: لا، S.

(٢) فيها: فيه، S.

(٣) ألا ترى... بدخوله فيه: -، S، C.

(٤) فخالف: وخالف، C.

٨- وقد قالَ بعضُ أهلِ العلمِ أيضاً إنّ اللهَ يَعزمُ على الشيء ثُم يَستثني فيــه، كقولِهِ تعالى: ﴿... لَتَدْخُلُنَّ الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ آمِنِينَ مُحَلِّقِينَ رُؤُوسَــكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ...﴾ (٤٨: ٢٧). فلمْ يُرِدْ(١) بهذا الاستثناءِ هَدْمَ ما أرادَهُ مِــن دُخــولِهِمُ المسجدَ الحرامَ، بل قد دخلوا آمنينَ مُحلِّقِينَ رُؤوسهم ومُقصِّرينَ كما وعَدَهُم ربُّ العالمين. ومزاعمُ(٢) ذلك، فإنّ النَّسْخَ لا يكونُ في الخبرِ ولا في الوعيدِ والوعد، وإنما يكُونُ في الأمرِ والنَّهْيِ؛ لأنّ صادِقَ الخبرِ لا يُخبرُ بشيءٍ ثُم ينقُضُ خــبرَهُ ذلــك بضِدِّه؛ لأنّ مَن أخبرَ عن(٣) شيءٍ ثُم نقضَ خبرَهُ بخلافِه كان كاذباً في نَقْضِ خبره، وكذلكَ(٤) لا يخلُو أمرُ(٥) مَن وعَدَ شرّاً يفعلُه، أو وَعدَ خيراً ثُم لم يفعــلْ ذلــك أنْ يكونَ كاذباً في نقضِ قولِه، أو يبدُو له بَدءٌ وأنْ يمنعَهُ مِن فِعلِه لِما يرى بعدَ ذلــك مِن الصلاحِ في تركِه، فهذِهِ صفةٌ تعالى اللهُ عنها وهو بريءٌ منها(٦)؛ لأنها(٧) قاضــيةٌ على صاحبها بالكذب والبدءِ(٨) والجهلِ. فلمّا كانَ هذا هكذا(٩)، صحَّ أنّ جميعَ مــا أخبرَ بهِ اللهُ مع ما ذَكَرَهُ(١٠) مِن وعيدِه ووعدِه لا ينسخُه شيءٌ مِن بعدِه، وقد قــالَ اللهُ تعالى: ﴿بَلَى مَنْ كَسَبَ سَيِّئَةً وَأَحَاطَتْ بِهِ خَطِيئَتُهُ فَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُــمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾ (٢: ٨١)، وأخبرَ أيضاً بخُلودِهم في النارِ، وأخبارُ اللهِ تعالى لا تكونَ إلاّ صحيحةً، ولا يجوزُ أن تكونَ(١١) منسوخةً، وقالَ أيضاً: ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّــهُ الْمُنَــافِقِينَ

(١) يُرد: يرى، S.
(٢) مزاعم: مزامع، S.
(٣) عن: غير، N.
(٤) كذلك: كذا، C.
(٥) أمر: –، S، N.
(٦) وهو بريءٌ منها: فهي تري فيها، S.
(٧) لأنها: بأنها، S، C.
(٨) البدء: البدوان، C.
(٩) هكذا: هكذي، S، C؛ هذي، N.
(١٠) مع ما ذكره: –، S، C.
(١١) تكون: يكون، C.

وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَالْكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا هِيَ حَسْبُهُمْ وَلَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُقِيمٌ﴾ (٩: ٦٨). فلم يقُل: زائلٌ. وقد قُلنا: إنّ وعيدَ اللهِ ووَعْدَه لا يجوزُ أنْ ينسخَهُ شيءٌ[١] بَعْدَهُ. والعجبُ مِن قولهم[٢] يسمعونَ اللهَ يقولُ: ﴿... أُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّارِ هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾ ثُم يقولون هُم مع ذلكَ: إنّ أصحابَ النارِ هُم منها خارجون!، ويقولُ اللهُ: ﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَالْكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا...﴾، ويقولون هُم: إنّ المُنافقينَ يخرُجونَ منها!، ويقولُ اللهُ تعالى: ﴿... وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُقِيمٌ﴾ ويقولونَ هُم: إنه زائلٌ!. أليسَ هذا مُناقَضةً لكتابِ اللهِ ومُضادَّةً لأخبارِهِ؟ وقد قال اللهُ تعالى: ﴿وَقَالُوا لَنْ تَمَسَّنَا النَّارُ إِلاَّ أَيَّامًا مَعْدُودَةً قُلْ أَتَّخَذْتُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَهْدًا فَلَنْ يُخْلِفَ اللَّهُ عَهْدَهُ أَمْ تَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ مَا لاَ تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ (٢: ٨٠). قد ذَمَّ[٣] اللهُ قوماً قالوا بهذهِ المقالةِ لن[٤] يَقتديَ بِهِم أحدٌ مِن هذهِ الأمّةِ، فلم ينفعْهُم ذلكَ؛ لِما سَبَقَ في علمِ اللهِ لهم مِنَ الفتنة.

٩- وأَعجبُ مِن هؤلاءِ قومٌ يسمعونَ منهُم[٥] الأقاويلَ الفاحشةَ والأمانيَّ الكاذبةَ التي يُخالفونَ بها كتابَ اللهِ ويفترونَ الكذبَ بها على اللهِ، ثم يقولونَ[٦] ذلكَ من إفكِهِم ويَترُكونَ ما نَطَقَ به كتابُ[٧] ربِّهم، ويجعلونَهُ[٨] في كَذِبهم قُدوةً، ويَتّخذونَ بدْعَتَهم نحْلَةً. فهُمْ كما قالَ اللهُ: ﴿وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمُ اتَّبِعُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ قَالُوا بَلْ نَتَّبِعُ مَا أَلْفَيْنَا عَلَيْهِ آبَاءَنَا أَوَلَوْ كَانَ آبَاؤُهُمْ لاَ يَعْقِلُونَ شَيْئًا وَلاَ يَهْتَدُونَ﴾ (٢: ١٧٠). قاتَلَهُمُ اللهُ أَنّى يُؤفَكُونَ، واللهُ يشهدُ إنهم لَكاذبون[٩].

(١) شيء: بشي، C.
(٢) قولهم: قوم، C.
(٣) ذمّ: قدم، S.
(٤) لن: لأنْ لا، C.
(٥) منهم: هذه، C.
(٦) يقولون: يقلون، S؛ يقبلون، C.
(٧) به كتاب: بهم، C.
(٨) يجعلونه: يجعلوهُم، N.
(٩) Quoted in the Qurʾān (63:1).

نعوذُ باللهِ مِن فتنةِ الشيطان ومِنَ الضلالةِ بعد البيان!. فافهَمُوا ما ذكرتُهُ لكم مِن ذلك، وتَفكَّرُوا فيه، وتَفحّصوا مَعانيَهُ.

١٠- واعلَمُوا أنّ الناسَ ثلاثةٌ: مؤمنٌ صادقٌ، ومُشركٌ ومُنافق. فالمؤمنُ مَن آمنَ باللهِ ورسولِه وجميعِ ما جاءَ عن اللهِ به، وعمِلَ بطاعةِ ربِّه، ولَم يُبطِلْ بمعصيةِ اللهِ صالحَ عملِه. والمنافقُ مَن دخلَ في الإيمانِ بلسانه وخرجَ مِنهُ بفِسقِه وعصيانه. وقد يُسمّى[١] المنافقُ كافراً؛ لأنّ الكُفرَ كُفرانِ: كُفرُ نعمةٍ وكفرُ شِركٍ، والنفاقُ نفاقانِ: نفاقُ قلبٍ ونفاقُ عملٍ. وليسَ كلُّ كافرٍ مُشركاً؛ لأنّ الكُفرَ بالشيءِ قد يكونُ جُحوداً لهُ بالكفرِ، وقد يكونُ مُخالَفةً لهُ[٢] بالعصيانِ دُونَ الجُحودِ والنكرانِ. وتَبيانُ[٣] ذلكَ ما أخبرَ اللهُ بهِ من قولِ إبراهيمَ -عليهِ السلامُ- والذين معه، إذ قالوا لقومِهم: ﴿... إِنَّا بُرَآءُ مِنْكُمْ وَمِمَّا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ كَفَرْنَا بِكُمْ...﴾ (٦٠: ٤). وبداءِ فلمْ يكفُر إبراهيمُ ومَن معه بقومِهم جُحوداً بِهم أنّهُم[٤] ليسوا بقومِهم، بل كان ذلك على وجهِ المُخالفةِ لهم في فِعلِهم. وكذلكَ قولُ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿... فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى...﴾ (٢: ٢٥٦). فلم يُردِ اللهُ تعالى أنْ يكونَ الكفرُ بالطاغوتِ جُحوداً لها أنّها ليست بطاغوتٍ، بل هي طاغوتٌ، إذْ مُحالٌ أن يكونَ الطاغوتُ ليسَ بطاغوت، بل هي طاغوتٌ، ولكنْ أرادَ اللهُ أنْ يكونَ الكفرُ بها مُخالَفةً لِعملِها. وكذلك كُفارُ[٥] أهلِ الإقرارِ مِن أهلِ القِبلةِ إنما يَخرجُ معناه على[٦] مثلِ هذه الصفة. وليسَ كُفرُهم جُحوداً لِما أقرُّوا به من الجملة، بل هو مُخالفةٌ لِما دَخلُوا[٧] فيهِ مِنَ الإيمانِ بالطاعة، فلذلك جَمَعناهُم وأهلَ

(١) يُسمى: سمي، S.
(٢) له: -، C.
(٣) تَبيان: شان، C.
(٤) أنهم: لهم، N، C.
(٥) كفار: كفر، N.
(٦) على: أنما، N.
(٧) دخلوا: دعوا، N.

الشِّركِ جميعاً في هذا الاسمِ وفرَّقْنا بينهم في الحُكم؛ لأنّا نحكُمُ على المشــركينَ إذا حارَبْناهُم بغنيمةِ أموالِهم وسَبْيِ حَرِيمِهم وأطفالِهم، ونَستحِلُّ[١] مــع ذلــكَ قَتْــلَ مُدْبرِهِم وجريحِهم مع زوالِ الخوفِ مِن مُعاداتِهم[٢] وحَربِهم، ولا نُوارِثُهم كــانُوا حَرْباً أم سِلماً. ولا يُستَحل نساءِ[٣] المشركينَ مِنْ أهلِ الكتابِ بالتزويجِ إذا كــانوا حرباً، ما[٤] لا يحلُّ تزويجُ امرأةٍ لواحدٍ بكتابِ اللهِ ويحلُّ سبيُها[٥] لآخرَ بكتابِ اللهِ، فبذلكَ فيجمعُ في امرأةٍ واحدةٍ حُكمانِ مختلفانِ تزويجٌ وغنيمةٌ في حــالٍ واحــدةٍ كِلاهُما بكتابِ اللهِ، فبذلكَ حرّمنا تزويجهنّ في الحالِ التي أحللنا فيها سباءهن. ثم إنّا لا نحكُمُ بشيءٍ مِن ذلكَ في أهلِ القِبلةِ ما تَمسّكُوا بــالإقرارِ في الجملــةِ؛ لأنّــا لا نَجْمَعُهُم وأهلَ الشِّركِ في حُكمٍ يفترقونَ لديه، كما لا نُفرّقُهم في اسمٍ يجتمعونَ فيه. لَمّا جَمَعَهُم "أهل الكفر" على ما فسّرناهُ في أولِ الذكر، دخلُوا جميعاً، مَن أشــركَ ونافَقَ، في قولِ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَهُمْ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ لاَ يُقْضَى عَلَيْهِمْ فَيَمُوتُــوا وَلاَ يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِهَا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي كُــلَّ كَفُــورٍ﴾ (٣٥: ٣٦). فكِــلا الفريقينِ كَفُورٌ: مَنْ أَشرَكَ بإنكارِهِ ونافَقَ في إقرارِهِ. فافهموا ذلك!.

١١- واعلمُوا أنّ المؤمنَ هو[٦] وليُّ اللهِ لا[٧] يَرضى بعداوةِ أوليائِــه، وأنّ المُشركَ والمُنافقَ هُما عدُوّا اللهِ وأنّ اللهَ لا يرضى بولايةِ أعدائِــه، والمنــافقُ أخٌ للمُشرك، والمُشركُ أخٌ للمُنافق، وتصديقُ ذلك في كتابِ اللهِ، حيث يقول: ﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا يَقُولُونَ لإِخْوَانِهِمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْــلِ الْكِتَــابِ لَــئِنْ أُخْرِجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجَنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلاَ نُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِنْ قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنْصُرَنَّكُمْ وَاللَّــهُ

(١) نستحلُّ: يستحل، C.
(٢) مُعاداتهم: مهاودتهم، C.
(٣) نساء: سبا، C.
(٤) ما: –، S، C.
(٥) سبيها: سباها، N، C.
(٦) المؤمن هو: من هو، C.
(٧) لا: –، N.

يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ﴾ (٥٩: ١١). وقد نَهى اللهُ تعالى عن ولايةِ أعدائِه بقولِه في مُحْكَمِ كتابه: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لاَ تَتَوَلَّوْا قَوْمًا غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ قَدْ يَئِسُوا مِنَ الآخِرَةِ كَمَا يَئِسَ الْكُفَّارُ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الْقُبُورِ﴾ (٦٠: ١٣).

١٢- ألاَ فاعقِلُوا عنِ اللهِ في خِطابه، واذكُروا حُجَجَهُ عليكم في كتابه، واحذَرُوا مِن أليمِ عِقابه، أنْ تُوالُوا[١] أهلَ عداوتِه، وتُعادُوا أهلَ ولايتِه، أو تُحِلُّوا حرامَهُ أو تُحرِّمُوا حلالَه. فإنكم تَركَبُونَ مِن ذلكَ مَعصِيتَه التي نَهاكم عن رُكوبِها، أو تَترُكونَ[٢] في ذلك طاعتَه التي أمرَكم بفعلِها، ولله الحُجّةُ البالغةُ على مَن فعلَ ذلك، فإنه من مُضلاّتِ الجهالةِ ومُوبقاتِ الضلالة. ثم إني أُعْلِمُكم أنّ اللهَ شرَعَ دِيناً قِيَماً، فمَن سَلَكَهُ كانَ حنيفاً مُسلِماً، ومن تَرَكَهُ كان كافراً مُجرماً. ثُم لَمْ يعذُر[٣] المُكلَّفَ مِن عبادِه في تركِ ما أمَرَهُم بفِعلِه أو فِعلِ ما أمرَهُم بتركِه، فمَنْ خالفَ أمرَهُ بتركِ طاعتِه أو رُكوبِ معصيتِه، مُتعمّداً أو جاهلاً في مخالفتِه، لمْ يَعذُرْهُ اللهُ تعالى بجهلِهِ مِن بعدِ ما بيّنه مِن الأحكامِ وميّزه من الحلالِ والحرام. ولَم يكفُرْ مَن كفَر مِن أهلِ الإسلامِ إلاّ بعُدولِهم عن العدلِ ورُكوبِهم لمعصيةِ اللهِ في العَمْدِ والجهل. ولا تَجاهَلُوا على اللهِ بعدَ أن أَرسلَ إليكم رسولاً مُبيِّناً، وأَنزلَ عليكم كتاباً مُستبيناً، وقالَ: ﴿وَلَقَدْ جِئْنَاهُمْ بِكِتَابٍ فَصَّلْنَاهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ هُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾ (٧: ٥٢) وقالَ تعالى: ﴿كَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا فِيكُمْ رَسُولاً مِنْكُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْكُمْ آيَاتِنَا وَيُزَكِّيكُمْ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمْ مَا لَمْ تَكُونُوا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ (٢: ١٥١). فأنَّى لكمُ العُذرُ في التجاهُلِ بعدَ التبيينِ وكمالِ الدين، فاستقيموا للهِ على السبيلِ الذي دعاكُم إليهِ وحَثَّكُم عليه، ولا تتفرّقُوا فيه، فإنّ الدينَ واحدٌ والحقَّ واحدٌ، وقد قالَ اللهُ[٤]

(١) تُوالوا: تولوا، S، N.
(٢) تتركون: يتركون، N.
(٣) يعذُر: يعذره، N.
(٤) الله: -، S، N.

تعالى: ﴿شَرَعَ لَكُمْ مِنَ الدِّينِ مَا وَصَّى بِهِ نُوحًا وَالَّذِي أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ وَمَا وَصَّيْنَا بِهِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى أَنْ أَقِيمُوا الدِّينَ وَلاَ تَتَفَرَّقُوا فِيهِ...﴾ (٤٢: ١٣)، وقالَ أيضاً: ﴿إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَأَنَا رَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُونِ﴾ (٢١: ٩٢). وقد تَعلمونَ ما وَقَعَ[١] بينَ أهلِ القِبلةِ مِنَ التنازُعِ والاختلافِ الواسع، حتى[٢] صارُوا أعداءً يتحاربونَ وأحزاباً[٣] يتلاعَنُون، كُلُّ حِزب بما لديهم فَرِحُون. فعَلِمنا عندَ ذلكَ أنهم لا يَفترقونَ ولا يُصيبونَ العدلَ جميعاً وهُم مُختلفونَ مُتباينون، يتلاعنون في ذلك ويتحاربون، وليسَ يَجُوزُ أن يُصيبَ الحقَّ منهم إلاّ حزبٌ[٤] واحد؛ لأنّ الحقَّ فَرْدٌ واحدٌ[٥]، إلاّ في الفروعِ التي يجوزُ الاختلافُ فيها ولا تَقَعُ الفُرقةُ عليها، وقالَ اللهُ تعالى: ﴿... فَمَاذَا بَعْدَ الْحَقِّ إِلاَّ الضَّلاَلُ فَأَنَّى تُصْرَفُونَ﴾ (١٠:٣٢).

١٣- ففي واجبِ الحقِّ وبُرهانِ الصدقِ أنْ نرجعَ ويَرجعُونَ فيما هُمْ فيهِ يختلفون إلى كتابِ اللهِ الْمُنْزَلِ وسُنّةِ نبيِّهِ الْمُرسَلِ -صلّى اللهُ عليهِ وسلّم- فنهتدي[٦] بعدلِهما ونقتدي بمَن اقتدى بهما، امتثالاً في ذلك لِما أمرَ اللهُ به في عدلِهِ فأنزلَ في كتابه، حيثُ يقول: ﴿... فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَومِ الآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلاً﴾ (٤: ٥٩). فلا تَتّبعُوا سبيلَ مضلاّتِ الغَلَطِ وتأويلاتِ الخطأ والسَّقَط، فإنّ الله تعالى[٧] يقول: ﴿وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلاَ تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ذَلِكُمْ وَصَّاكُمْ بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ﴾ (٦: ١٥٣). وسبيلُ اللهِ الذي شَرَعَهُ لعبادِه، وارتضاهُ لنفسه، وأمَرَ

(١) وقد تعلمون ما وقع: وقال فلما وقع، N، C.

(٢) حتى: و، N.

(٣) أحزاباً: أخزاء، S.

(٤) حزب: فردا، S.

(٥) لأن الحق فردٌ واحد: +، C.

(٦) فنهتدي: فيهتدي، N.

(٧) تعالى: +، C.

باتّباعِه، هو الإيمانُ باللهِ ورُسلِه[١] وما جاؤُوا[٢] عنِ اللهِ به، والتصديقُ بكتابهِ المُبينِ الذي أنزلهُ على رسولهِ الأمين، ونفيُ الأشباهِ والأضدادِ عنِ اللهِ بجُملتِها، وإقـامُ الصلاةِ بطُهورِها ورُكُوعِها وسجودِها[٣]، وما [لا] تتمُّ إلا بهِ مِن فرائضِها وسُننِها وحُدودِها، واستقبالِ القِبلةِ لها[٤]، وإيتاءُ الزكاةِ على واجبِ فَرْضِها، ودفعُها إلى أهلِها. وحَجُّ البيتِ الحرامِ مع وُجودِ الزادِ والراحلـة، وزوالِ المَوانـعِ الحائلـة، واجتنابُ ما نَهى اللهُ عنه مِن الرَّفَثِ والفُسوقِ والمُجادَلة، وصيامُ شهرِ رمضـانَ بالعفافِ والسترِ حتى يكملَ طرفا الشهر، والجهادُ في سبيلِ اللهِ مـع وُجـوبِ[٥] ذلك بكمالِ عددِ الرجال وإمكانِ العدلِ للقتال، والأمرُ بالمعروفِ والنـهيُ عـنِ المُنكر، وإقامةُ حُدودِ اللهِ على الضعيفِ والقويّ، والعدُوِّ والوليّ، وولايةُ مَنْ وافقَ الحقَّ في القولِ والعملِ، واجتَنبَ رُكوبَ الكبائر، ولَم يُصِرَّ على الصغائر، وعداوةُ مَن خالفَ دِينَ المسلمينَ وعصَى ربَّ العالَمين، حتى يَرجِعَ إلى ربِّهِ ويتُوبَ مِـن مُخالَفتِه وذنْبِه[٦].

١٤- ويَدِينَ للهِ بما وجَبَ عليهِ مِن حقٍّ في مالِهِ ونفسه، وقَسْمُ المواريـثِ على عدلِ الكتابِ والسُّنّة. والتسميةُ باللهِ[٧] على الذبيحةِ، والخِتـانُ، وسَـتْرُ العَورة، وحَلْقُ العانَة، وغَسْلُ النجاسة، والاغتسالُ مِنَ الجَنابةِ والحَيْض، وتقليمُ الأظافرِ[٨]، وفَرْقُ الشعورِ، وغسلُ الأمواتِ وتكفينُهم، والصلاةُ عليهم ودفنُهم، وأداءُ الشهادةِ والأمانة، وتَرْكُ الكَذِبِ والخِيانةِ والخُروجِ من حقِّ الوالدينِ كانا

(١) رسله: رسوله، C.
(٢) جاؤوا: جاءوا به، N.
(٣) سجودها: -، S.
(٤) لها: بها: S، N، C.
(٥) وجوب: وجود، S.
(٦) وذنبه: دينه، S.
(٧) بالله: +، C.
(٨) الأظافر: الاضافير، S.

بارَّيْنِ أو فاجِرَينِ، مِن غير وِلايةٍ لهُما في معصيةِ ربِّهما، وصِلةُ الـرَّحِمِ، وبِـرُّ الجار، وحُسنُ الصُّحبةِ للصاحب، وغَضُّ الأبصارِ عنِ العَوْرات، وحِفْظُ الفُروجِ من المُحرّمات، والاستئذانُ في البيوتِ المسكونات.

١٥- وما أمرَ اللهُ به المؤمناتِ مِن غَضِّ أبصارِهِنَّ، وحِفظِ فُروجِهنَّ، ولا يُبْدِينَ زينتَهُنَّ إلاّ ما ظَهَرَ منها، ولْيَضرِبْنَ بخُمُرِهِنَّ على جُيوبهنَّ، ولا يُبْـدِينَ زينتَهُنَّ إلاّ لِبُعُولتِهنَّ أوْ آبائِهنَّ، أو آباءِ بُعولتِهنَّ، أو أبنائِهنَّ، أو أبناءِ بُعـولتِهنَّ، أو إخوانِهنَّ، أو بَني إخوانِهنَّ، أو بَني أخَواتِهنَّ، أو نسائِهنَّ، أو مـا مَلَكَـتْ أَيمانُهنَّ، أو التابعينَ غيرِ أُولي الإربةِ مِنَ الرجالِ، أو الطِّفلِ الذينَ لم يَظْهَرُوا على عَوْراتِ النساء، ولا يَضْرِبْنَ بأرجُلِهنَّ لِيُعلَمَ ما يُخْفِينَ مِن زِينتِهنَّ[١]، ولا يَنُحْنَ في مَصائِبهنّ.

وتحريمُ الدماءِ كُلِّها والأموالِ إلا ما أُبيحَ في ذلك من الحـلال، وتحـريمُ البَخْسِ في الميزانِ والمِكيال والغشِّ في سائرِ الأموال، وتحريمُ الربا وأكلِ أمـوالِ اليتامى بالظلمِ، وأموالِ الناسِ بالباطلِ والإثم، وتحريمُ غُلـولِ الغنيمـةِ وقَـذْفِ المُحْصَنِ والمُحصنة، وتزويجِ المُتعة، والنكاحِ في العِدّة، والطلاقِ لغيرِ السـنّة[٢]، والمُراجعةِ بلا إشهادٍ[٣] على الرَّجْعة، والوَطْءِ في الدُّبُرِ والنِّفاسِ والحَيْض، ووطءِ سَبْيِ[٤] المُشركينَ وما يُشترى مِن إماءِ المسلمينَ حتّى يَحِضْنَ إنْ كُنَّ حَوائلَ، أوْ يَضَعْنَ إنْ كُنَّ حَواملَ.

١٦- وتحريمُ نساءِ الأيامَى على أبنائِهم والأبناءِ على آبائِهم، وما حرّمَ اللهُ مِن أمّهاتِكم، وأخواتِكم، وعمّاتِكم، وخالاتِكم، وبناتِ الأخِ، وبناتِ الأختِ، وأمّهاتِكُمُ اللائي أرْضَعْنَكُم، وأخواتِكم مِن الرّضـاعةِ، وأمّهـاتِ نسـائِكم،

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(١) Quoted in the Qurʾān (24:31).

(٢) السنّة: البينة، S، C.

(٣) إشهاد: شهادة، C.

(٤) سبـي: سبا، S؛ نساء، N.

وربائبكُمُ اللاتي في حُجورِكم من نسائِكُمُ اللاتي دخلتُم بِهِنَّ، فإنْ لم تكُونوا دخلتُم بِهِنَّ فلا جُناحَ عليكم، وحَلائِلِ أبنائِكمُ الذينَ مِن أصلابكم، وأنْ تَجْمَعُوا بينَ الأُختَينِ إلاّ ما قَدْ سلفَ[1] في النكاحِ، مع ما حرّمَ اللهُ تعالى مِن السِّفاحِ وما حَرّمَ رسولُ اللهِ – صلّى اللهُ عليه وسلّم – من تزويجِ المرأةِ على عمّتِها وخالتِها؛ لأنهما[2] بمنزلةِ والدتِها، ألاَ تَرى إلى[3] قولِ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ...﴾ (١٢: ١٠٠)، فسَمّى الخالةَ أُمّاً[4]، كما قول رسولِ الله[5] – صلّى الله عليه وسلّم: "رُدُّوا علَيَّ العبّاسَ أبي"، فسمّاهُ أباً وكان عمّاً.

١٧– وتحريمُ المَيْتةِ والدمِ ولحمِ الخِنزيرِ، وذواتِ المَخالبِ مِن السِّباعِ والطيرِ، وشُربِ ما حرم من المُسكرِ والخمورِ، وما حرَّمَ رسولُ الله –صلّى اللهُ عليه وسلّم– من المزاميرِ وضربِ المَعازفِ والطنابيرِ، وتحريمُ ما أُهِلَّ لغيرِ الله به مِن الذبيحةِ والمَوقُوذةِ والمُتردّيةِ والنطيحةِ وما أَكَلَ السبُعُ إلاّ ما ذَكّيتُم، وما ذُبِحَ على النُّصُبِ، وأنْ تَستقسمُوا بالأزلامِ[6]، وتحريمُ الحرامِ كُلِّه، واستحلالُ الحلالِ[7] مِن حِلِّه. ثُمَّ العدلُ على الناسِ عامّةً، قويِّهم وضعيفِهم، ووَضيعِهم وشريفِهم، وبغيضِهم وحبيبِهم، وبعيدِهم وقريبِهم؛ لأنّ اللهَ يقولُ: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ شُهَدَاءَ لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَوِ الْوَالِدَيْنِ وَالأَقْرَبِينَ إِنْ يَكُنْ غَنِيًّا أَوْ فَقِيرًا فَاللَّهُ أَوْلَى بِهِمَا فَلاَ تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَى أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا وَإِنْ تَلْوُوا أَوْ تُعْرِضُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا﴾ (٤: ١٣٥). فليس في دينِ

(١) Quoted in the Qur'ān (4:23).
(٢) لأنهما: لانها، S، N، C.
(٣) إلى: +، C.
(٤) فسمّى الخالة أُمّاً: فهي الخالة، S، C.
(٥) رسول الله: رسوله، S.
(٦) Quoted in the Qur'ān (5:3).
(٧) الحلال: الحل، C.

المُسلمينَ حَيْفٌ لُمسلمٍ مِن أجلِ حُبِّهِ وولايتِه، ولا ظُلمٌ لفاجرٍ من أجلِ بُغضِهِ وعَداوتِه، حاشى المسلمينَ من ذلكَ؛ فإنّهم[١] أهلُ العدلِ وأصحابُ الفضلِ. فهذا هو دِينُ اللهِ وسبيلُ المسلمينَ الذي أوعدَ اللهُ مَن يتّبعُ غيرَه مِن الفاسقينَ نارَ[٢] جهنّمَ وبئسَ مثوى الظالمين، فقالَ تعالى في ذلك: ﴿وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَى وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا﴾ (٤: ١١٥). فَلْيَتّقِ اللهَ مَن رَغِبَ عن سبيلِهم أو قالَ بخلافِ أقاويلِهم، فإنهم كانوا أبلغَ عِلماً، وأغزرَ فَهْماً، وأكثرَ فِقهاً، وأحفظَ كائنٍ[٣] بعدلِ السُّنّة، وأصدقَ حُبّاً لله، وأحرَصَ على رِضائِه، وأعرَفَ بأهلِ ولايتِه وأعدائِه. فلا يَرْغَبَنَّ عن سبيلِهم مَن رَغِبَ عنهم، ولا يُفَسِّقْهُم مَن هُوَ أَوْلَى بالفُسوق منهم، فإنّهمُ الحُجّةُ على عبادِه، والقُوّامُ بحقِّهِ في بلادِه، وهُمُ الذينَ أبصَرُوا المُنكَرَ حينَ ظَهَرَ مِن أهلِهِ، ففارَقُوهُم عليهِ، وحارَبُوهم لديه، وعَرَفُوا المعروفَ حينَ استَتَرَ عن غيرِهِم، فتَبيّنُوا فيهِ ودَعَوا مَن تَرَكَهُ إليه. و لم يُفارقِ المسلمونَ أحداً إلاّ على مكفرة، و لم يَعِيبُوه[٤] إلاّ بمعصية؛ لأنّهم لا يَنقِمُونَ على أحدٍ شيئاً من أفعاله إلاّ أنْ يَعرِفُوا في ذلك صِحَّةَ ضلالِه، ثُم يأمرُونَهُ عندَ ذلكَ بأعدلَ ممّا أتى به. وكذلك في الحقِّ الواجبِ ألا يَقْضُوا[٥] على أحدٍ شيئاً عرَفُوه إلا بما هو مِنَ الطاعةِ أعدلُ منه، وإنما نَقَمَ المسلمون على الناسِ ما خالفوا فيهِ كتابَ ربِّهم وسُنّةَ نبيِّهم في اتّباعِ الشهواتِ وتزيينِ الضلالات.

١٨- ثُمّ إنّا نُذكّرُكم أنّا مِنَ الناسِ والناسُ مِنّا، إلاّ [مُشركاً] [جاحِداً]، أو [جبّاراً] للهِ [مُعانِداً]، أو [شاكّاً] فيه قَد عُرِفَ كُفرُهُ بعصيانِه، أو [مُعيناً] لهُ في ظُلمهِ

(١) فإنهم: فافهم، C.

(٢) نار: مأواه، C.

(٣) كائن: كانوا، N.

(٤) يعيبوه: يعيبونه، C.

(٥) يقضوا: يعصوا، S.

وعُدوانه، أو [مُخالِفاً] لدينِ اللهِ الذي نحنُ عليهِ، أو [شاكًّا][(١)] فيه، أو [مُصِرًّا] علـــى مَعاصِيه. قاتَلَ اللهُ قوماً دانُوا بطاعةِ الجبابرةِ من أجلِ أنســابهم[(٢)] وسُــلطانهم، و لم ينظُروا مع ذلك إلى فسادِ أديانِهم في تعمُّدِهِم لِلجَــورِ[(٣)] ورُكــوبِهم[(٤)] للمُنكــر، وتعطيلِهم للحُدودِ عمّنْ يُحبّون، وتَعدِّيهم فيها على مَن يُبغضــون[(٥)]، وأخْــذِهِمُ الأموالَ من غيرِ أهلِها ووضْعِهم لها في غيرِ أهلِها، وسَفكِهِمُ الدماءَ الحرامَ، وإقامتِهم على الفواحشِ العِظام، واستعمالِهم لمن يَعرفونهم بالفسادِ وظُلمِ العباد، وهُم علـــى ذلك ينسبونهم[(٦)] أُمراءَ المؤمنين، ويجعلونهم خُلفاءَ على المسلمين، لا يَمنعونهم عـــن ظُلمِهم ولا يَمتنعون[(٧)] عن طاعتِهم، ويشدُّون أعضادَهُم في بــاطلِهم، ويتولَّــونهم ويتولَّونَ لهم، ويمتثلون في معصيةِ اللهِ أمرَهم، حتى إذا خرجَ عليهم ظــالمٌ مِــثلُهم فاغتصبَ منهم مُلْكَهم رجَعُوا إليه، وعوّلُوا في أمورهم عليه، واتّخذوهُ إماماً فــيهم، وجعلوه أميراً عليهم: عبيداً لِمَن غَلَبَهُم، أتباعاً لِمَن قَهَرهم، لا يَميزُونَ[(٨)] صــلاحاً من فساد، ولا يعرفونَ ضلالاً مِن رشاد، شَبَّ[(٩)] على ذلك صَغِيرُهم، وماتَ عليــه كبيرُهم، وأعْرَب[(١٠)] فيهم أعجمُهم. يُوطّنُونَ أنفسَهم على طاعــةِ مَــن مَلَكَهُــم، يقتدونَ في ذلكَ بقُرّائِهم، ويقتفونَ[(١١)] فيه آثارَ عُلمائِهم عُلمــاءِ السُّــوءِ، أعــداءِ القُرآن، الجَهَلةِ بحقِّ التنزيل، العُماة عن عدلِ التأويل. يُلبِسُونَ على غُــواةِ النــاسِ

(١) شاكّ: ساكا، N.
(٢) أنسابهم: نسائهم، S.
(٣) للجور: للحق، S.
(٤) ركوبهم: ركونهم، S.
(٥) يبغضون: يعصون، C.
(٦) ينسبونهم: يسمّونهم، S.
(٧) يمتنعون: يمنعون، S، N.
(٨) يَميزون: يمترون، S، C.
(٩) شبّ: نبت، S، C.
(١٠) أعرب: أعرف، S.
(١١) يقتفون: يفتون، N.

وطِغامِهم وضُعفائِهِم وعَوامِّهم، ممّن لا بصر لهم في حَسَنٍ ولا قبيح، ولا تمييزَ معــهُ بينَ فاسدٍ وصحيح، فيُضِلُّونَهُم بما يحتجّونَ به لهم مِن الرواياتِ الكاذبات ومُتشــابه الآيات؛ لقولِ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُــولَ وَأُولِــي الأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ...﴾ (٤: ٥٩)، قُلنا لهم: إنْ كانَ ذلكَ في قولِكُم عُموماً فليسَ[1] هــو بعموم. فقد خَصَّ اللهُ أهلَ الظلمِ مِن جُملةِ مَن أَمرَ بطاعتِه مِن وُلاةِ الأمــرِ بقولــهِ تعالى: ﴿وَلاَ تَرْكَنُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْلِيَاءَ ثُمَّ لاَ تُنْصَرُونَ﴾ (١١: ١١٣). فهذا مِنْ قولِ اللهِ خصوصٌ والأولُ مِن قولِهِ عُمومٌ، والخصوصُ يَعترضُ على العمومِ ولا يُعترَضُ بالعمومِ على الخصوصِ في قول أئمّــةِ الدينِ وأصحابِ الحقِّ المُبينِ في هذا. ثُم إنّ اللفظَ قد يكون خاصّاً ويَرِدُ في الظــاهرِ عامّاً، كقولِ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَــنِ الْمُــؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَــكَ تَحْــتَ الشَّجَرَةِ...﴾ (٤٨: ١٨). فظاهرُ هذا الكلامِ يقعُ على جمــاعتِهم، فهــو خــاصٌّ للبعضِ من جُملتِهم، وهُمُ الذينَ عَلِمَ ما في قُلوبِهم ممّا هو رِضاءٌ لهُ وليسَ هُمُ الذين عَلِمَ ما في قلوبهم ممّا هوسخطٌ له، ورضيَ عنهم فيه. ولأنّ اللهَ لا يَرضى بمعصــيتِه، فإذا كانَ أهلُ الشجرةِ منهم مَن خَطَّأ صاحِبَهُ وضلّلهُ وسَفَكَ مع ذلك دَمَهُ، قاصداً لذلك مُتعمِّداً عليه، فيحتار[2] لِقصدِهِ فيه، فلا يجوزُ أن يكونَ القاتــلُ علــى حــقٍّ والذي قُتِلَ على حقٍّ، والمُضلِّلُ لغيرِهِ على حقٍّ والغيرُ الذي ضلّلهُ على حقّ، ذلــك ما لا يجوزُ أبداً، ولا يكون القولُ بِهِ رشداً؛ لأنّ هُؤلاءِ أضدادٌ والأضدادُ مُتنافيــةٌ، ولا يَجمعُها حالٌ واحدٌ، وقَد قالَ اللهُ: ﴿أَفَنَجْعَلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ كَالْمُجْرِمِينَ * مَا لَكُــمْ كَيْفَ تَحْكُمُونَ﴾ (٦٨: ٣٥–٣٦). فإنْ قالَ: إنّ[3] هؤُلاءِ جميعاً مُسلمونَ، قُلنا له: إنْ أردتَ بِهِ الاسمَ دُونَ غيرِه فهو كذلك، وليس كلُّ مَنْ سُمّيَ مُسلماً كان عِنــدَ اللهِ مؤمناً، ألاَ تَرى إلى قولِ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿قَالَتِ الأَعْرَابُ آمَنَّا قُلْ لَمْ تُؤْمِنُوا وَلَكِــنْ

(١) فليس: وليس، C.
(٢) فيحتار: مختارا، C.
(٣) إن: –، C.

قُولُوا أَسْلَمْنَا وَلَمَّا يَدْخُلِ الإِيمَانُ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ...﴾ (٤٩: ١٤). فأمّا إنْ أردتَ به إسلاماً يكُون عِندَ اللهِ إيماناً، فقدْ مضى الجوابُ في ذلك ما فيه كفايةٌ لِمَنْ كانَ لهُ عقلٌ وهِداية، وقَدْ قالَ اللهُ تعالى: ﴿وَمَا يَسْتَوِي الأَعْمَى وَالْبَصِيرُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَلاَ الْمُسِيءُ قَلِيلاً مَا تَتَذَكَّرُونَ﴾ (٤٠: ٥٨).

١٩– وممّا يدلُّ أيضاً [على] أنّ الكلامَ قد يكونُ معناه خاصّاً[١] ويَرِدُ ظاهرُهُ عامّاً قولُ اللهِ تعالى في ريحِ عادٍ: ﴿تُدَمِّرُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ بِأَمْرِ رَبِّهَا...﴾ (٤٦: ٢٥). ومعلومٌ أنها لم تُدمّر الشمسَ والقمرَ والسماءَ والأرضَ والجبالَ والبحرَ[٢]، وقدْ قالَ اللهُ[٣] تعالى: ﴿تُدَمِّرُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ...﴾ وهذهِ أشياءُ كُلُّها، فلَمْ تُدمّرْها ريحُ عادٍ، فإنما المعنى أنّها تُدمِّرُ كُلَّ شيءٍ أتَتْ عليهِ ووَقَعَ تدميرُها فيه. وقولُه تعالى في قصةِ بلقيسَ: ﴿... وَأُوتِيَتْ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَلَهَا عَرْشٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾ (٢٧: ٢٣) ولَمْ تُؤتَ بلقيسُ مُلكَ سُليمانَ –عليهِ السلامُ– ولا غيرَ ذلك من أشياءَ[٤] كثيرةٍ، مثلِ النجومِ الهاوية والرياحِ الجارية والسحاب[٥] السارية. وظاهرُ هذا الكلامِ عامٌّ، وهو في الحقيقةِ خاصٌّ، واللغةُ قد تنطِقُ بهذا كُلِّه، ومِن ذلك قولُ عنترةَ بنِ شدّادٍ العَبْسيّ[٦]:

جَادَتْ[٧] عَلَيهِ كلُّ بكْرٍ حُرَّةٍ
فَتَرَكْنَ كُلَّ قَرارَةٍ كالدِّرهَمِ[٨]

ولَمْ تكن[٩] كلُّ سحابةٍ بكرٍ –وهي التي لم يفتقها المطر– قبلَ ذلك تجودُ[١٠]

(١) خاصّاً: حاضرا، C.
(٢) البحر: الشجر، S.
(٣) الله: –، N.
(٤) أشياء: لأشياء، S، C.
(٥) السحاب: السحايب، N.
(٦) العبسي:+، N.
(٧) جادت: حارت، S.
(٨) ʿAntarah b. Shaddād, *Muʿallaqa*, line 21.
(٩) تكن: يكن، C.
(١٠) تجود: يحول، S.

على ذلك البيتِ الذي وَصَفَهُ. وهذا مثلُ قولِ طَرَفَةَ البَكْرِيّ:

يقولونَ إنّي بالِغٌ كُلَّ مَأرِبٍ

وإنّي وإنْ غُمَّ النجومُ لَمُهتدي(١)

ومعلومٌ أنه لا يبلُغ كُلَّ مآرِبِه كما وَصَفَهُ أصحابُه، وكيفَ يكون ذلك وهو يقول:

لِخَوْلَةَ أطلالٌ ببُرقَةِ ثَهْمَدِ(٢)

تَلُوحُ كباقي الوَشْمِ في ظاهِرِ اليدِ(٣)

فَرَوْضةِ(٤) دُعْمِيٍّ(٥) فأكنافِ حائلٍ

وَقَفتُ(٦) بها أَبكي وأُبكي إلى الغدِ(٧)

فدلَّ من ذلك قولُه إنه كان من إربِهِ أن تكُونَ أطلالُ خولةَ بها عامرةً، فأمستْ منها خاليةً حتّى أبكاهُ ذلك، ولا يحزنُه ويُبكيهِ إلاّ ما لا يرغبُ فيهِ، وقوله أيضاً:

فما لِي أراني وابنَ عَمِّي مالِكاً

مَتَى أَدْنُ مِنْهُ يَنْأَ(٨) عَنِّي ويَبعُدِ(٩)

فكان من رأيه أنْ يكُون من ابنِ عمِّه دانياً، فأصبح عنه بعيداً نائياً. وقول عنترةَ أيضاً:

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(١) This line is attributed to the poet although unattested in his anthology.

(٢) ثهمد: شمل، C.

(٣) Al-ʿAbd, *Muʿallaqa*, line 1.

(٤) فروضة دُعمي: فَردَ صفَّة دعمّي، S، N، C.

(٥) Rawḍat Duʿmī is the name of a mountain in Bilād Banī ʿAqīl. See: Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3: 89.

(٦) وقفت: ضللت، S، N، C.

(٧) Al-ʿAbd, *Dīwān*, 148.

(٨) ينأ: ينوء، S، N، C.

(٩) Al-ʿAbd, *Muʿallaqa*; line 70.

وأَعلَمُ ما في اليومِ والأمسِ قَبْلَهُ

ولكنّني عنْ عِلمِ ما في غَدٍ عَمِ(١)

ومعلومٌ أنه لا يَعلمُ جميعَ ما في اليومِ والأمس، وإنما أرادَ أنه يَعلمُ ما قَدْ عَلِمَـــهُ دُونَ ما قد خَفِيَ عليهِ وجَهلَه، ومثلُ هذا كثيرٌ في لُغةِ العربِ وأشعارِهم، وإنما أُنزلَ القرآنُ على لُغتِهم. فقولُ اللهِ تعالى: ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ...﴾ (٤: ٥٩) إنما هو خاصٌّ لأهلِ طاعتِهِ دُونَ الفُسّاقِ من أهلِ معصيتِه؛ لأنّ اللهَ تعالى لا يأمرُ بأمرٍ ثُمّ يُعذّبُ على فعلِه، وقد قال جَلَّ مِن قائـــلٍ: ﴿وَلاَ تَرْكَنُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النَّارُ...﴾ (١١: ١١٣) ولَوْ أمرَ بطاعتِهم لَمْ يُعذِّبْ على الرُّكونِ إليهم، وقالَ أيضاً لنبيِّهِ – صلّى الله عليه وســـلّم –: ﴿... وَلاَ تُطِعْ مَنْ أَغْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ عَنْ ذِكْرِنَا وَاتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُهُ فُرُطًا﴾ (١٨: ٢٨)(٢)، وقـــال تعالى: ﴿... وَلاَ تُطِعْ مِنْهُمْ آثِمًا أَوْ كَفُورًا﴾ (٧٦: ٢٤) ونحنُ(٣) داخلونَ مع رسُولِ اللهِ – صلّى الله عليه وسلّم – في كُلِّ ما أمَرَهُ اللهُ بهِ، إلاّ ما صحَّ أنه مخصوصٌ بفِعلِه. فإذا كان ذلكَ كذلكَ فليسَ لنا ولا لكُم أنْ نُطيعَ آثِماً ولا كَفُـــوراً، والجبّـــارُ كفورٌ وآثِم، وكِلا الاسمينِ لهُ لازم، وقال رسولُ اللهِ – صلّى الله عليه وسلّم –: "لا تُطيعوا مَنْ أَمَرَكُم بمعصيةِ اللهِ خَالِقِكُم". وقد قالَ اللهُ لخليلِه إبراهيمَ – صلواتُ اللهِ عليهِ وسلامُه(٤) –: ﴿... إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّـــاسِ إِمَامًـــا...﴾ (٢: ١٢٤). قـــالَ إبراهيمُ: ﴿... وَمِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِي...﴾ إماماً للناسِ، فقالَ اللهُ(٥): ﴿... لاَ يَنَـــالُ عَهْـــدِي الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ (٢: ١٢٤) فنَفَى(٦) أنْ يكُونَ الظالمُ إماماً، فأعلَمَهُ بذلكَ إعلاماً.

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(١) This line is attributed incorrectly to ʿAntarah, however, it is a line of Zuhayr b. Abī Salmā's *Muʿallaqa*; line 47.

(٢) "ولا تطع... وكان أمره فُرطاً": –، C.

(٣) ونحن: وكونوا، S.

(٤) صلواتُ اللهِ عليهِ وسلامُه: –، C.

(٥) الله: –، C.

(٦) فنفى: فنهى، C.

فَلْيتّقِ(١) اللهَ مَنْ يُخالِفُ عَدْلَ الكِتاب ويقولُ بغيرِ الحقِّ والصواب، ويُحرِّفُ الكَلِمَ عن مَواضعِهِ اتّباعاً للمُتشابه، إنه كما أخبرَ اللهُ في كتابه، إذ يقولُ اللهُ(٢) تعالى: ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ مُحْكَمَاتٌ هُنَّ أُمُّ الْكِتَابِ وَأُخَرُ مُتَشَابِهَاتٌ فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ زَيْغٌ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ مَا تَشَابَهَ مِنْهُ ابْتِغَاءَ الْفِتْنَةِ وَابْتِغَاءَ تَأْوِيلِهِ وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ...﴾ ثُم قالَ: ﴿... وَالرَّاسِخُونَ فِي الْعِلْمِ يَقُولُونَ آمَنَّا بِهِ كُلٌّ مِنْ عِنْدِ رَبِّنَا وَمَا يَذَّكَّرُ إِلاَّ أُولُوا الأَلْبَابِ﴾ (٣: ٧).

٢٠- ألاَ فاطلُبوا السلامة لأنفسكُم، واحذَرُوا مِنَ الزَّلَلِ في دِينكُم، فإنّ الزَّلَلَ في الدينِ يُفْضِي(٣) إلى العذابِ المُهين. ولا يَفْتِنْكُم مَن تَبِعَ(٤) هواه، وباعَ آخِرتَهُ بدُنياه، فإنّ الدُّنيا غَدّارةٌ لِذَوِيها، فَتّانةٌ لِمَن ركَنَ(٥) إليها، غَرّارةٌ بطُلاّبها(٦)، قَتّالةٌ لأصحابِها، ظاهرُها سُرورٌ، وباطنُها غُرور، وحَلالُها حِسابٌ، وحرامُها عِقاب، وكثيرُها قليلٌ، وعزيزُها ذليل، وجامِعُها سَلِيبٌ، وساكِنُها غريب، وأوّلُها آمالٌ وظُنونٌ، وآخِرُها آجالٌ ومَنُون(٧).

٢١- أجل أيُّها السامعُ، لقد عرفتَ منها ذلك حقَّ العرفان، وبانَ لك عنها كُلّ البيان. وكيف لا تَعرفُ ذلك(٨) بعد أن نظرتَهُ بعينيك، وسمِعتَهُ بأُذُنيك، ووَعَيْتَهُ بِجَنانك، وشكَوتَهُ بلسانك، إذ تُمسي مفجوعاً بأبيكَ، وتُصبحُ مُعَزًّى في أخيك، وتغدُو مُفارِقاً لِجدّك(٩)، وتَرجِعُ صائحاً على ابنك، وتضلُّ محزوناً على مالِك، وتَبيتُ مدفوعاً إلى بَلْبالِك، مُشتغِلاً بِسَقَمِكَ وأوجاعك. ثُم

(١) فليتّق: فاليتق، S.
(٢) كما أخبر الله: +، C.
(٣) يُفضي: تقضي، N؛ -، C.
(٤) تبع: يتبع، C.
(٥) ركن: يكون، C.
(٦) بطُلاّبها: بطلاها، S.
(٧) مَنون: فنون، N.
(٨) وكيف لا تعرف ذلك: -، S.
(٩) لجدّك: لخدنك، S.

تفيقُ مِن سكرةِ ذلكَ فتُصبح في ضلالِك غادياً، وبمالِكَ لاهياً، ولِمَا قد أصابك ناسياً، فقد شغَلكَ يومُك عن غدِك، ومالُك عن نفسك، ودُنياك عن دِينــك، فأغفَلكَ حِرصُكَ(١) عن شُغلِك، ودارُكَ عن قبرك، وكأنْ لَم تَعِظْــكَ نَوائــبُ الزمانِ بمَنْ رُزِئتَ بفَقْدِهِ مِن الإخوان، وكأنْ لم تكُن عالِماً بأنّك عن نعمتــكَ منقولٌ، وعلى نَعشِك محمول، وفي لَحْدِ ضَريحِكَ مــدخولٌ، وعــن عملِــك مسؤول. فلم تَزَلْ لاهياً بنهيِكَ وأمرِك، غافلاً عن ذنْبِكَ(٢) ووِزْرِك، ذاهلاً عــن موتِكَ ونَشرِك. حتى إذا انقضتْ أيامُك، ونزلَ بك حِمَامُك، ورَشَحَ بــالعَرقِ جبينُك، وهَدَأ من الشدّةِ أنينُك، [و] أعجزَكَ الخلاصُ، وأعْوَزَكَ المَناص، ظلْــتَ مُتحيّراً في نفسكَ وأُمورِك، نادماً على تفريطِكَ وتقصيرِك، لا تعذر فتَنتصر، ولا تقالُ فتعتذر. فعندَ ذلك حلَّ(٣) حزنُكَ وعظُمتْ حسرتُك، واشــتدَّ بــلاؤُك، وانقطعَ رجاؤُك. فحصلتَ أسيراً في جهلِكَ بسُوء فِعلك، صــائراً إلى عــذابِ الجحيم، خاسراً لجِنانِ النعيم.

٢٢- فتُوبوا إلى الله! تُوبوا إليه من ذُنوبِكُم، وجدُّوا في خلاصِ نُفوسِــكُم قبل نُزولِ الأجلِ وفَوْتِ العمل، وانقطاعِ الحِيلةِ والأمل. وفّقَنــا اللهُ وإيّــاكم لطاعتِه، ومَنَّ علينا وعليكم برحمته. إنّهُ غفورٌ رحيم، وعلى ما يشــاءُ قــديرٌ، والحمدُ لله ربِّ العالَمين، وصلّى اللهُ على مُحمّدٍ وآلِه الطاهرين، وعلى جميــعِ النبيّينَ والمُرسَلين، وعلى الملائكةِ المُقرَّبين، وعلى عبادِهِ الصــالحينَ مِــن أهــلِ السماواتِ والأرضين، وسلّمَ عليهم أجمعينَ(٤) وسلم تسليماً.

(١) حِرصُك: عرصك، C.
(٢) ذنبك: دينك، C.
(٣) حلّ: حلت، N.
(٤) وسلّم عليهم أجمعين، +، C.

3.4 Translation

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful

1- From Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd to Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Murayj, al-Muhannad b. Sadhā, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Barūzān. Peace be upon you. Praise be to God. I command you to be obedient to God, and I forbid you to disobey the One who has power over you. Fear God in things that upset you or please you, and in things that benefit you or harm you. Be grateful to God, be His religious supporters, and be also in support of His worshippers. Do good and command it; avoid evil and prohibit it. To God's obedience take the initiative. Be patient with the misfortunes of your life. You will praise the consequence of this on the day when you are in need of good deeds and when you give up your kinship and wealth. At that time, your hopes and tricks will be worthless. All success is from God alone, and it is He in whom people must trust as the protector of the faithful.

2- I shall warn you against the evil acts of Satan himself, and of his supporters who help to degrade you, your souls, your desires, your wants, and your lives. God says, "Yet I claim not that my soul was innocent—surely the soul of man incites to evil—except inasmuch as my Lord has mercy; truly, my Lord is All-forgiving, All-compassionate" (12:53). And He says, "Hast thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, and has put a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laid a covering on his eyes? Who shall guide him after God? What, will you not remember?" (45:23). And He says, "Those who follow their lusts desire you to swerve away mightily" (4:27). And He says, "Know that the present life is but a sport and a diversion, an adornment and a cause for boasting among you, and a rivalry in wealth and children. It is as a rain whose vegetation pleases the unbelievers; then it withers, and thou seest it turning yellow, then it becomes broken orts. And in the world to come there is a terrible chastisement, and forgiveness from God and good pleasure; and the present life is but the joy of delusion" (57:20).

3- Therefore, you must seek closeness to God by liking His sincere and close servants. Avoid His discontent by disliking His enemies. God has said in His perfect Book, which no falsehood enters, neither from before it nor from behind it: "And lean not on the evildoers, so that the

Fire touches you—you have no protectors apart from God—and then you will not be helped" (11:113).

You should learn from the most Gracious, the most Merciful, and you should reflect on the Qurʾānic verses. God has commanded, "A Book We have sent down to thee, Blessed, that men possessed of minds may ponder its signs and so remember" (38:29). Two types of people will inevitably perish: the first is the person who takes partners beside God; the second is the one who ignores God after recognizing him, and follows the temptations of Satan while yet believing himself to be among the righteous people. About that God has said, "And what of him, the evil of whose deeds has been decked out fair to him, so that he thinks it is good? God leads astray whomsoever He will, and whomsoever He will He guides; so let not thy soul be wasted in regrets for them; God has knowledge of the things they work" (35:8). And He says, "Hast thou seen him who has taken his caprice to be his god, and God has led him astray out of a knowledge, and set a seal upon his hearing and his heart, and laid a covering on his eyes? Who shall guide him after God? What, will you not remember?" (45:23). About those who are involved in a partnership with Him, God has said, "God forgives not that aught should be with Him associated; less than that He forgives to whomsoever He will. Whoso associates with God anything, has gone astray into far error" (4:116). "He forgives whomsoever He will" means that He forgives all sins except holding partnership in worship. God forgives whatever sins are committed, if there is repentance on the part of the individual, and if this repentance is accompanied by complete avoidance of these sins. God made this clear in His perfect Book: "Yet I am All-forgiving to him who repents and believes, and does righteousness, and at last is guided" (20:82). God has demonstrated this for the people of the Book (the Jews and the Christians), when they said, "We are sons of God, and His beloved ones" (5:18). God said to Muḥammad, "Tell them, 'Why then does He chastise you for your sins? No; you are mortals, of His creating; He forgives whom He will, and He chastises whom He will" (5:18). The people of understanding know that God will only forgive the Jews and the Christians, if they leave their religions and embrace Islam. Also, they must repent of what they have been doing before in their polytheism. God has made this clear: "Whoso desires another religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; in the next world he shall be among the losers" (3:85).

Therefore, God will grant pardon to the Muslims who have done wrong only if they leave these errant deeds with repentance, and show remorse when they ask for God's forgiveness. God will never forgive them if they persist. God has said, "and do not persevere in the things they did and that wittingly" (3:135).

The Prophet Muḥammad has said, "Whoever persists in doing wrong deeds will race to the hellfire." God has told the story about the sons of Adam: They each presented a sacrifice [to God]. It was accepted from one but not from the other. Said the latter, "I will surely slay thee." Said the former, "God accepts only of the godfearing" (5:27).

This is a clear explanation for anyone who has a heart and reason or who gives ear and earnestly witnesses [the truth]. God never accepts worship from errant people; rather, He accepts only from those who fear Him. He did not accept the one son's present, because he was disobedient to Him, whereas He accepted his brother's present.

Anyone who claims that God accepts worship from the disobedient people and that He forgives the obstinate people, the Qurʾān shall belie him. He shall fall short of evidence. God has said, "God shall turn only towards those who do evil in ignorance, then shortly repent; God will return towards those; God is All-knowing, All-wise" (4:17). God has also said, "But God shall not turn towards those who do evil deeds until, when one of them is visited by death, he says, 'Indeed now I repent', neither to those who die disbelieving; for them We have prepared a painful chastisement" (4:18).

Have not you reflected on God's verses when He mentioned the people who have done evil? He denies them repentance if they continue to do evil until death. About that God has said, "…when visited by death…," in other words, when the person feels that the Angel of Death is close. God has said that this man will say, "Indeed now I repent." The verse continues: "…neither to the dying disbeliever." This means that God has addressed both the polytheists and the obstinate together in one verse. God has said, "For them We have prepared a painful chastisement." In another chapter, God has said, "What, do they look for the angels to come to them, nothing less, or that thy Lord should come, or that one of thy Lord's signs should come? On the day that one of thy Lord's signs comes it shall not profit a soul to believe that never believed before, or earned some good in his belief" (6:158). The verses show that

there are two souls: one does not have faith and is a polytheistic soul, and the other is the faithful soul. God has said, "…never believed before, or earned good in his belief," in other words, that he did not practise his faith.

4- It has been narrated that al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī visited Jābir b. Zayd at his deathbed. Al-Ḥasan told Jābir, "O, Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ, say, '*lā ilāha illā Allāh* (There is no god but God)'," but Jābir was silent. Then al-Ḥasan repeated, "O, Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ, say, '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'." Jābir did not reply. Then al-Ḥasan said, "*Lā ḥawlah wa-lā quwwah illā bi-llāh* (There is no power and no strength save from God), a man like Jābir did not have the bliss of saying '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*' at the time of his death." Then al-Ḥasan repeated for a third time, "O, Abū al-Shaʿthāʾ, say, '*lā ilāha illā Allāh*'." Then Jābir said, "We have been saying it for as long as it was accepted," then he recited this verse: "What, do they look for the angels to come to them, nothing less, or that thy Lord should come, or that one of thy Lord's signs should come? On the day that one of thy Lord's signs comes it shall not profit a soul to believe that never believed before, or earned some good in his belief. Say: 'Watch and wait; We too are waiting.'" (6:158). Then al-Ḥasan said, "By God, this is a learned man."

5- If anyone claims that no Muslim from *ahl al-iqrār* will abide eternally in the fire, then he has misinterpreted the verse: "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and earth abide, save as thy Lord will" (11:106-107). He then claimed that God made an exception regarding duration. If God forced them to be eternally in the fire, then there must also be an exception to the statement. It is not at all permissible to postulate that this exception in the verse does not make sense, is meaningless, or useless. We say to him: If you think that the saying of God is void of meaning, wisdom, and benefit, then you have misunderstood the just revelation, or you were wrong in your interpretation. This is because the exception here does not conform to what you thought and relied upon in your interpretation. The exception applies, however, to the hours on the day of judgment in which the people of the fire have not yet entered into it due to the knowledge of the almighty God that they are busy in those very hours of the day with dissuasion and the reckoning of their deeds. This is clear

from the verse: "That is a day mankind are to be gathered to, a day to witness, and We shall not postpone it, save to a term reckoned" (11:103-104). And He has said, "One day will come," that day being the appointed day, when "no soul shall speak save by His leave; some of them shall be wretched and some happy" (11:105). And He has said, "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and earth abide, save as thy Lord will" (11:106-107). This means that the exception applies to what God will do concerning that day. This has been so explained by the people of knowledge. That day, the people will be busy at the beginning with the resurrection and judgment in terms of questioning and reckoning. If God did not make that exception after stating that the hellfire would be the designation for those people, then it would have been obligatory for those people to enter the fire and be eternally in chastisement right from the beginning of the day of judgment. The evidence of the firm truth of this interpretation is God's verse: "save as thy Lord will," meaning from that glorious day. God did not say, "save as those whom thy Lord willeth," in which case the specifications of some of the people in the hellfire would apply. So understand and know that the almighty God did not say, "therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and the earth abide, save as thy Lord accomplishes what He desires from *ahl al-iqrār*."[1]

6- What is the evidence then that made the interpreter postulate such an argument that the errant Muslims are specified here not to be eternally in the fire, which is not the case for non-believers? If he alleges that God has said: "God forgives not that aught should be with Him associated. Less than that He forgives to whomsoever He will. Whoso associates with God anything has gone astray into far error" (4:116), and that this is proof that God does not forgive the polytheist, but he forgives *ahl al-iqrār*, we will say to him in response to this argument that God has said to the Jews and the Christians a similar thing in the verse: "you are mortals, of His creating; He forgives whom He will, and He chastises

(1) *Ahl al-iqrār* refers to Muslims who mindfully state the *jumlah*, i.e., the *shahādah*, *lā ilāha illā Allāh*. They are also called *ahl al-qiblah*, the people who face the same direction in their prayers along with the rest of the Muslims. According to the Sunni doctrine, the person discussed is still a believer, but impious. According to the Ibāḍī doctrine, he is an ingrate (*kāfir niʿmah*). According to the Muʿtazilī doctrine, he is a hypocrite. According to the Khārijī doctrine, he is an infidel.

whom He will" (5:18). Now your argument is without support, and evidently what we have shown of the falsehood of your argument is right.

7- If he argues that God has said in the verse: "Not one of you there is, but he shall go down to it; that for thy Lord is a thing decreed, determined. Then We shall deliver those that were godfearing; and the evildoers We shall leave there, hobbling on their knees" (19:71-72), we would say to him: There is no proof of your argument in the verse. "Shall go down to it" does not mean to enter into it. Do you not see what God says about Moses: "On the right way. And when he came to the waters of Midian he found a company of the people there drawing water" (28:23)? Although he went beside the water, he did not enter into it. For example, it can be said that your letter has been passed to me or your command and letter have been passed to me. This does not mean that the letter has entered inside me, but the meaning is that the letter has reached me and I have seen it. I swear that this person fabricated lies and violated what God's Book has explained, when he argues that God will release some people from the hellfire and bring them into paradise. God has revealed his lies in the verse: "Not so; whoso earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression …," meaning that whoever has been persistent in his wrongdoing until he died in that situation, "they are the dwellers in the fire, therein abiding [forever]" (2:81). Also, about the hypocrites from *ahl al-iqrār* and the polytheists, He says, "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and the unbelievers, the fire of Gehenna, therein to dwell foreover. That is enough for them; God has cursed them; and there awaits them a lasting chastisement" (9:68).

What else then is required after this clarification as a cure for those who seek remedy in the verses of the Qurʾān? If he were to say that the Qurʾān is both abrogating and abrogated, and that what God has said in the verse, "Not so; whoso earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression—those are the inhabitants of the Fire; there they shall dwell forever" (2:81) might be abrogated by this verse: "As for the wretched, they shall be in the Fire, wherein there shall be for them moaning and sighing, therein dwelling forever, so long as the heavens and earth abide, save as thy Lord will..." (11:106), because God has made exception in this verse, then we shall say to him: We have already given you our answer and argument regarding your enquiry on the interpretation of this verse.

8- The people of understanding also say that God may decide something, then He can make an exception later on, as is the case in the verse: "You shall enter the Holy Mosque, if God wills, in security, your heads shaved, your hair cut short" (48:27), the Almighty God does not mean in this an exception to decline what He has already stated regarding the Muslims' entering the holy mosque. In fact, they did enter the holy mosque as He promised in security, heads shaved and hair cut short. The claim is that the abrogation has not been in the statement or the threat and promise. The abrogation has been in the command and interdiction. The true statement does not say such of something and then destroy it in a contradictory manner. Whoever states something and then states its contradiction is considered a liar. Also, whoever promised good or evil and did not fulfil it, he will be a liar in contradicting his statement. Or he might find new things on which he will change his mind. Then this testifies that the person who says this is a liar, ignorant and erring, and these are attributes that God transcends. As all that is said by this person is nonsense, all things that God says are true. Also, what He has mentioned about threat and promise can never be abrogated. God has said, "Not so; whoso earns evil, and is encompassed by his transgression—those are the inhabitants of the Fire; there they shall dwell forever" (2:81).

God has also spoken about their dwelling in the hellfire. God's statements are always truthful. They cannot be abrogated. He has also said, "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and the unbelievers, the fire of hell, therein to dwell forever" (9:68). The verse does not say the punishment has an end. We have already said that God's promise and threat are impossible for anyone to abrogate. Oh, how surprising in that they say that they listen to God say, "Those shall be the inhabitants of the fire, therein dwelling forever;" yet they say that the people of the fire can exit from it.

God has said, "God has promised the hypocrites, men and women, and the unbelievers, the fire of Gehenna, therein to dwell foreover. That is enough for them; God has cursed them; and there awaits them Like a lasting chastisement." And they say that the hypocrites, men and women, can exit from it! God has said, "Those shall be the inhabitants of the fire, therein dwelling forever." And they say that it is evanescent. Is this not a contradiction to God's Book and an opposition to His statements? God

has said, “And they say, ‘The Fire shall not touch us save a number of days.’ Say: ‘Have you taken with God a covenant?’ God will not fail in His covenant; or say you things against God of which you know nothing?” (2:80). God has rebuked the people who made such a statement, so that no one of this community (*ummah*) will follow them. Their claim did not benefit them because it has been ordained in God’s knowledge that they will go astray.

9- Some of the people of *ahl al-iqrār* listen to these appalling claims and false hopes by which they contradict the Holy Book and fabricate lies against God, and then they say that as a slander and leave what the Book of their Lord has stated, and make in their lies examples and produce sects from their innovation. They are as God has described: “And when it is said to them, ‘Follow what God has sent down,’ they say, ‘No; but we will follow such things as we found our fathers doing.’ What? And if their fathers had no understanding of anything, and if they were not guided?” (2:170). The curse of God be on them! How they were deluded! And God bears witness that they are indeed liars. We seek refuge in God from Satan’s seduction and from straying after guidance. You should, therefore, understand what I have mentioned to you, reflect on it, and ponder its sense.

10- You should also understand that people are of three types: believer, polytheist, and hypocrite. The believer is the one who believes in God, His prophet, and all the teachings that came to him from God. He is also obedient and never invalidates his good deeds by disobeying God. The hypocrite is the one who embraces Islam in his words, but leaves it by being sinful and disobedient. The hypocrite can be regarded as a disbeliever, because disbelieving is of two types: ingratitude and polytheism. There are two types of hypocrisy as well: that of the heart and that of deeds. Not all disbelievers are polytheists, because disbelieving in an entity might be by denying it or it might be by violating its principles through disobedience without necessarily rejecting or denying it. The evidence for this statement is what God has said of Abraham and those with him when they said to their people, “We are quit of you and that you serve, apart from God. We disbelieve in you” (60:4). Abraham and his followers did not disbelieve in their community as a denial of their affinity to them, but so as to oppose the rest of their community by their conduct. God has also said, “So whosoever disbelieves in idols and believes in God,

has laid hold of the most firm handle" (2:256). God does not intend in this verse to say that disbelieving in idols is to deny their existence, because it is impossible to say that an idol is not an idol. Certainly it is an idol. God means [to say] that disbelief in an idol (*ṭāghūt*) means disavowing its actions. The meaning of disbelieving should only be interpreted thusly in terms of the disbeliever who is among the Muslims. This disbelieving is not a form of denial of what they have ratified of the statement [of faith]. It is, however, their doing certain actions that are not in accordance with their entering the faith of obedience. Therefore we apply this same term to them as we do to the polytheists, though we differentiate between them in judgment, because we, if we fight with the polytheists, make it lawful to plunder their wealth and take as prisoners their women and children.

Similarly, we make lawful the killing of their deserters and wounded, even if the threat of their fighting has ceased. We do not allow them to inherit either in peace or in war. It is not permissible that a Muslim marry a woman of the people of the book if there is war between them and us. It is illegal to marry a woman to a person by God's Book while this very woman is a spoil of war by God's Book. Then there will be for the same woman two different judgments: marriage and spoil, and both of these conditions are legislated by God's Book. This is why we say that it is illegal for this woman to be a wife, while at the same time we allow her to be a spoil of war with any of the above judgments. We do not apply any of these judgments to Muslims as long as they adhere to the statement [of faith]. We do not judge them the same as we do the polytheists because their situation is different. Similarly, we do not separate them by a label under which they can be grouped, due to the generality of the term "disbelieving", which we have explained above. The hypocrites and the polytheists are both addressed in the following verse: "As for the unbelievers, theirs shall be the fire of Gehenna; they shall neither be done with and die, nor shall its chastisement be lightened for them. Even so We recompense every ungrateful one" (35:36). Both groups are disbelieving; those who become polytheists on account of their denial and those who become hypocrites by reason of their commitment to the statement [of faith].

11- So understand all that and know that the believer is God's friend, and that God does not accept enmity to his friends, and that the hypocrite and the polytheist are the enemies of God, and that God does

not accept association with His enemies. The hypocrite is the brother of the polytheist and the polytheist is the brother of the hypocrite; the evidence of this is in God's Book: "Hast thou not regarded the hypocrites, saying to their brothers of the People of the Book who disbelieve, 'If you are expelled, we will go forth with you, and we will never obey anyone in regard to you. If you are fought against, we will help you'. And God bears witness that they are truly liars" (59:11). God has prohibited association with His enemies. He says in His perfect Book, "O believers, take not for friends a people against whom God is wrathful, and who have despaired of the world to come, even as the unbelievers have despaired of the inhabitants of the tombs" (60:13).

12- You should be wise and reflect on God's speech. You should remember His arguments to you in His Book; also, you should be aware of His grievous penalty, if you associate with His enemies and dissociate from His friends, or if you allow what He has prohibited and prohibit what He has allowed. In this case you enter into disobedience with regard to that which He has prohibited you, and you leave His obedience with regard to that which He has commanded you. God has the most eloquent argument against whomever does that. These are the dark ravines of ignorance.

I should also tell you that God has established for you a religion of truth. Whoever takes this path will be a Muslim, true in faith. Anyone who leaves it will be a criminal and a disbeliever. God has not excused His servants to leave anything He has commanded or to do anything He has prohibited. Whoever transgresses God's command by relinquishing his obedience or committing wrong deeds intentionally or unintentionally, God will not give him excuse for his ignorance after He made clear His rules, and distinguished between what is lawful and what is unlawful. A Muslim will not be regarded as a disbeliever except if he refrains from God's judgment and commits wrongdoings, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Do not claim ignorance to God after He sent to you a clarifying Prophet and revealed to you a clear book. God has said, "And We have brought to them a Book that We have well distinguished, resting on knowledge, a guidance and a mercy unto a people that believe" (7:52). He has said, "as also We have sent among you, of yourselves, a Messenger, to recite Our signs to you and to purify you, and to teach you the Book and the Wisdom, and to teach you that

you knew not" (2:151). What is your excuse then in claiming ignorance to God after the exposition and completion of the religion?

You should stand straight on the path to which God has called you and to which He has encouraged you. You should make no divisions in religion, because there is only one religion and one truth. God has said, "He has laid down for you as religion that He charged Noah with, and that We have revealed to thee, and that We charged Abraham with, Moses and Jesus: 'Perform the religion, and scatter not regarding it'" (42:13). And He has said, "Surely this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord; so serve Me" (21:92).

You may know the kind of disputes and vast differences which happened among the people who pray in the same direction (*ahl al-qiblah*), to the extent that they became enemies fighting each other and parties cursing one another, each party rejoicing in that view which is held within itself. We have known thus that they could not divide and that all of them will never reach justice while disagreeing, cursing and fighting. It is impossible that all of these parties shall reach the truth; rather, only one party will reach the truth. This is because truth is only one. Diversity is allowed only in the branches, which allow different interpretations, and these do not lead to a division or split. God has said, "What is there, after truth, but error? Then how are you turned about?" (10:32).

13- In reality and truth, you have to go back to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of the Prophet whenever there is any dispute. In that case we will be following their guidance and taking those who followed them as our examples. We do that as a kind of obedience to God's commands and to His judgment in His Book in which He says, "If you should quarrel on anything, refer it to God and the Messenger, if you believe in God and the Last Day; that is better, and fairer in the issue" (4:59). You should not follow the path of mischief and draw wrong interpretations. God has said, "And that this is My path, straight; so do you follow it, and follow not divers paths lest they scatter you from His path. That then He has charged you with; haply you will be godfearing" (6:153). God's path is that which He has established for His servants and approved for Himself, and commanded us to follow. This is believing in God and His messengers and what these brought from Him, and also believing in His clear Book, which He sent down to His trustworthy messenger, and also

rejecting any parallels and opposites to God. This path of God also means that you establish regular prayer, with its ablution, bowing, prostrating, and all other essential duties of prayer, like the supplements and limits and direction of the *qiblah*.[(1)] It also means giving regular alms according to the way it is prescribed, and paying it to the needy. Similarly, it means performing the pilgrimage to the sacred house, provided that food and means of transportation are all available and no other obstruction is present on the journey. It also means that during the period of pilgrimage you avoid the obscenity, wickedness, and wrangling prohibited by God. It also means fasting in the month of Ramaḍān and refraining from sexual contact until the end of the month, and performing *jihād* in the cause of God. This is mandatory only with complete preparation of men and matter for fighting. You should also command good and prevent evil, establish the rules set by God for the weak as well as those for the strong, and those rules pertaining to the enemy as well as to the friend. Be the patron of those who uphold truth and justice in word and deed, avoid the most heinous deeds, and never persist in small wrongdoings.

You must be an enemy of anyone who is in opposition to the religion of the Muslims and disobeys the Creator and Sustainer of the worlds until he returns and asks for forgiveness from God for his disobedience.

14- In addition, one must do all one’s duties towards God with either one’s wealth or oneself. Also, one must divide the inheritance by the judgment of the Book[(2)] and the *sunnah*.[(3)] Additionally, you must mention the name of God for a sacrifice, carry out circumcision, cover your private parts, shave your pubic hair, wash (*ghusl*)[(4)] any impurity including menstruation and sexual intercourse, cut your nails, comb your hair, wash the body of the deceased and wrap him with sheets, pray

(1) The *qiblah* is the direction of prayer towards the Kaʿbah in Mecca. This is indicated in a mosque by the *miḥrāb*. Originally, the direction of prayer was towards Jerusalem, but it was redirected towards Mecca after the Hijrah. This change is recorded in the Qur’ān; see *al-Baqarah* 2:142-150; *EI*^{2}, s.v. “Ḳibla”.

(2) The holy Qur’ān.

(3) The term *sunnah* literally means “trodden path”. It developed the meaning “customary practice” to indicate the specific actions and sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad; *EI*^{2}, s.v. “Sunna”.

(4) *Ghusl* is the major ritual washing of the whole body to achieve a state of purity; *EI*^{2}, s.v. “Ghusl”.

for him, and bury him. You must also give the right testimony required from you at any time, and place your trust in those to whom it is due. Stop telling lies and being disloyal, and do not disobey your parents, whether they are righteous people or wicked, without associating with them in disobedience to God. You also must maintain good relations with your relatives, be kind to your neighbours, and maintain good ties of friendship. It means also that you must cast down your gaze away from the private areas (ʿ*awrāt*)[(1)], guard your private parts, and protect yourself from what is forbidden by God,[(2)] and ask for permission when entering the houses of others.

15- You must remember God's command to the believing women, that they cast down their gazes and guard their private parts, and reveal not their adornment save as is outwardly manifest, and let them cast their veils over their bosoms, and not reveal their adornment save to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons, or their husbands' sons, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or what their right hands possess, or such men as attend them who have no sexual desires, or children who have not yet attained knowledge of women. Nor should they stamp their feet so that their hidden ornament may be known, nor mourn in their misfortunes. It is necessary that you should know what is forbidden with regard to blood and property, what is allowed and lawful, and what is unlawful. Also, do not diminish the measure and the balance, and do not be dishonest in regard to property. You should also refrain from usury and unlawful consumption of the property of the orphans and the property of any other people. You are prohibited from thieving plunder.

You may not accuse a chaste man or woman of unchaste deeds. You may not engage in temporary marriage (*mutʿah*),[(3)] marriage during the

(1) The meaning of the word ʿ*awrah*, in an Islamic sense, differs from its generic usage. It refers to parts of the human body that are forbidden to show in public; for men, the area of their ʿ*awrah* is from the stomach to the knee, and for women, the area is the whole body except for the hands and the face.

(2) That means avoiding adultery.

(3) This is permitted by the law of the Ithnā ʿAsharīyah (twelvers Shīʿah), but it is not sanctioned elsewhere in Islam. Ibāḍī *fiqh* does not allow this marriage, but judging from the opinions of al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb and Abū Ṣufrah ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Ṣufrah, such a marriage appears to have been permissible in the 2nd/8th century. See al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Sharḥ al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ musnad al-imām al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb*, 3: 25.

ʿ*iddah*, [i.e. periods[1] of waiting prescribed] before the second marriage for women, divorcing via proofs or evidence, reuniting without witnesses, anal sex, or sex after birthing or during menstruation. Also, you may not have sex with a captive female unbeliever or those whom you buy from Muslims. There should be no sexual intercourse with a pregnant women until she gives birth, nor with one who is not pregnant until she menstruates once.

16- Also, it is forbidden for concubines to have relations with fathers and sons. God prohibits you from marrying your mothers, your daughters, your sisters, your paternal and maternal aunts, your brothers' daughters, your sisters' daughters, your mothers who have reared you, your suckling sisters, your wives' mothers, your stepdaughters who are in your care, being born of your wives you have been into – but if you have not yet been into them, it is not your fault – and the spouses of your sons who are of your loins, and taking two sisters together, unless it be a thing of the past. God and His Prophet prohibit men to marry a women to her paternal or maternal uncle, because they are regarded as parents. As God says, "And he lifted his father and mother upon the throne" (12:100). And the maternal aunt was referred to as mother, and the Prophet called his uncle, al-ʿAbbās, his father. He informed some of his Companions, saying, "Bring to me my father, al-ʿAbbās." He called him his father, although in reality he was his uncle.

17- Moreover, forbidden to you is the eating of carrion, blood, and the flesh of swines, as well as animals and birds that have claws. Also, you should not drink any fermented or intoxicating drink. The Prophet forbids the playing of instruments, wind as well as stringed and tambourines. Additionally, the forbidden foods include animals that are slaughtered in the name of anyone other than God, animals strangled or beaten to death, those that fall and die, those killed by goring with horns or mangled by wild beasts, those whom you slaughter and those sacrificed on the stones set up [for idols]. Forbidden also is the division (of meat) by raffling with arrows.[2] It is necessary to leave all that is

(1) The ʿ*iddah* is basically the duration of widowhood, or the legal period of abstention from sexual relations before remarriage, imposed on widows or divorced women, or women whose marriages have been annulled, providing the marriage was consummated. The rules in *fiqh* governing the ʿ*iddah* are complex, but basically derive from the Qurʾān; see *al-Baqarah* (2) and *al-Ṭalāq* (65); *EI*^{2}, s.v. "Idda".

(2) Arrows were used by Arabs prior to Islam for casting lots.

forbidden and to strive to implement all that has been prescribed.

However, you should establish justice between people whether they are strong or weak, humble or noble, hateful or preferrable to you, distant or near. God says, “O believers, be you securers of justice, witnesses for God, even though it be against yourselves, or your parents and kinsmen, whether the man be rich or poor; God stands closest to either. Then follow not caprice, so as to swerve; for if you twist or turn, God is aware of the things you do” (4:135).

In the religion of the Muslims, there is no injustice to a Muslim on account of liking and affinity, nor is there injustice to a profligate on account of disliking and dissociation. The Muslims refrain from these deeds. They are the people of justice and attainment. Therefore, this is God’s religion and the Muslims’ path. God promises that the followers of other paths will be in the hellfire, and it is the most evil home for the wrongdoers! God says, “But whoso makes a breach with the Messenger after the guidance has become clear to him and follows a way other than the believers’, him We shall turn over to what he has turned to and We shall roast him in Gehenna—an evil homecoming!” (4:115).

Therefore, let him fear God whosoever diverged from His path[1] or declared something different than what He said. The Muslims are the most knowledgable and more understanding and perceptive to the justice of the *sunnah*. They are more honest in their love for God, and more careful to please Him. They know His friends and enemies best. Let not anyone divert from their path because he does not like them, and do not allow any profanation on their part by people who are actually more profane than them. They are God’s proof of His servants, His vice-regents on this earth. They also contain the abomination committed[2] by innovators. They leave them in this situation and fight them over this innovation. They recognize good when it is concealed from others. They realize it fully and call to it those who have left it. No Muslim[3] will be

(1) He is referring to the early Muslims. Prominent figures of Muslim orthodoxy prefer the first three centuries after the Prophet, calling them “excellence centuries.” The author is pointing to the early Ibāḍīs, as becomes evident in the following sentence.

(2) He is referring to the Battle of Ṣiffīn, when the Muḥakkimah rejected the arbitration between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah.

(3) Muslim here refers to Ibāḍīs. The Ibāḍī authors often sought to demonstrate their good behavior in their writing. This is particularly so with scholars from the Middle Ages who also used their literary skill in part to demonstrate the character of their dogmas and sects.

deemed to withdraw except if he insists on a major sin, and no Muslim will be condemned except for a sin. This is because they do not judge anyone on the basis of their deeds unless they are certain about his deviation. Then they command him to take a middle stand. Rightly they are also obliged not to categorize any person's act except for an average position of obedience. The reason the Muslims have revolted against people is that they breached the Book of their Lord and the *sunnah* of their Prophet when they followed desires and encouraged heresies.

18- Moreover, we remind you of what we have mentioned, that we are of the people and the people are of us, except a denying idolater, or a tyrant opposing God's will, or someone who is doubtful about Him and whose disobedience is known, or a breacher of the religion of God to which we adhere, or one who is sceptical about the religion and persists in his sins.

God's curse be on the people who submit to the will of the tyrants in order to obtain genealogical reputation and authority, and they do not consider the corruption in their religion as a result of deliberately committing oppression and as a result of inclining to evil, nullifying the penalties on whom they like and implementing them on those whom they hate, taking money from people without just reason and giving it to people who do not deserve it, shedding unlawful blood, and continuing to commit major sins. They appoint those who are well-known for their corruption and savage oppression of the people. In spite of all of this, they call them the leaders of the faithful and make them rulers of the Muslims. They do not prevent them from any oppression and do not resist obedience to them. They foster the wrongdoings of those people, and they themselves support them and ask the people to support them also. They obey them even in that which God forbids. When a transgressor like them raids against them and plunders their property, they would turn back to him and rely on him in their affairs and appoint him leader and ruler. They tend to support whoever overcomes them, and to be followers of whoever defeats them. They cannot discriminate between good and bad, and cannot distinguish between right guidance and misguidance. Their young have grown up with this habit, and their old have died with this habit also. Even the non-Arabs among them have been Arabised with the same views. They establish themselves via obedience to their rulers. In this they take the example from their

reciters, and they follow the footsteps of their scholars, the scholars of evil, the enemies of the Qurʾān, those ignorant of the value of the revelation, and those blind to the justice of interpretation. They delude the masses and the populace and the weak among the people who do not give any attention to value, be it good or bad, and cannot distinguish between right and wrong. They deceive them by the evidence they show them from the fabricated traditions and from the verses that read, "O believers, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you" (4:59).

I say to them, if you think that there is generality in the verse here, I say it is not general, because in another verse God has specified the destination of those who obey the rulers who transgress. God has said, "And lean not on the evildoers, so that the Fire touches you—you have no protectors apart from God—and then you will not be helped" (11:113).

This verse is more specific than the previous one. In the principles of interpretation and legislation, the particularity is proof against the generality, whereas the generality is not proof against the particularity. This is the opinion of the religious leaders (*ʿulamāʾ*)(1) and the people of the truth. Furthermore, the word can be particular while on the surface it is general, as in the verse in which God has said, "God was well pleased with the believers when they were swearing fealty to thee under the tree" (48:18).

Superficially, the speech in the verse is common to all the believers, but of course, the people in the verse are those special people of whom God knew what was in their hearts, and He sent down tranquility to them. This good pleasure was not for the people of whom God knew that what was in their hearts was displeasing to Him. God does not like those who disobey him. The people of the tree,(2) however, were of different types. Some of them faulted and misdirected one another, then they also intentionally shed the blood of one another. Confusion then arises regarding the intention of each, as it is impossible to hold that both the killer and the victim were right. Similarly, it is baseless to say that the

(1) I.e. Muslim leaders.

(2) The people of the tree are those Companions who swore fealty to the Prophet under a tree in Ḥudaybīyah (60 km from Mecca) in the year 630 AD. This event is called *bayʿat al-riḍwān*.

deceiver and the deceived are both right. This is simply impossible, and this saying is never rational, because these are contradictory terms that cannot be grouped into one homogenous situation. God has said, “What, shall we make those who have surrendered like to the sinners? What ails you then, how you judge?” (68:35-36). If someone says that all of these were Muslims, we will reply to him that we agree with you only if you intend the meaning of Islam to be the name and nothing else. Not everyone called a Muslim is faithful in God’s regard. Do you not see what God says in this regard? “The Bedouins say, ‘We believe.’ Say: ‘You do not believe; rather say, ‘We surrender’; for belief has not yet entered your hearts” (49:14).

However, if you intend the meaning of Islam to be faith in God’s regard, then our answer to this has been made clear in this outline to those who have intellect and guidance. God has said, “Not equal are the blind and the seeing man, those who believe and do deeds of righteousness, and the wrong-doer. Little do you reflect” (40:58).

19- This proves that speech, though it is particular, may look general, as in the verse about ʿĀd’s[1] wind in which God has said, “…destroying everything by the commandment of its Lord” (46:25). Of course, the wind did not destroy the sun, the moon, the sky, the earth, the mountains, and the sea. God has said, “destroying everything,” though all of these were things and they were not destroyed by ʿĀd’s wind. However, the meaning of this word is: ʿĀd’s wind destroyed everything it came across. Likewise, in the story of Bilqīs, God has said,[2] “She has been given of everything, and she possesses a mighty throne” (27:23). Bilqīs was not given Solomon’s kingdom or other things, such as falling stars, the roaming winds, and the touring clouds. Externally, this speech is general, but in fact it is particular. Language can express this all. For example, ʿAntarah b. Shaddād al-ʿAbsī[3] says:

> “Visited by every virgin rain cloud bountiful are showers that
> have left every puddle gleaming like a silver dirham.”[4]

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(1) ʿĀd is the pre-Islamic Arab tribe in the south Arabian region of al-Aḥqāf, who built monuments on mountain tops.

(2) The pre-Islamic queen of Sheba (a place spelled in a variety of ways in Arabic) contemporary with King Solomon. She is mentioned by name in the Qur’ān; the exegetes identify her with the queen in Qur’ān, *al-Naml* 27:23.

(3) A *jāhilī* poet, who died around the year 615 AD.

(4) Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 180.

ʿAntarah did not know every cloud that was impregnated with rain. Likewise, Ṭarafah b. al-ʿAbd al-Bakrī[1] says:

"They say I reach all that I hope, and when the stars disappear
I will always have a clue."

It is well known that he would not reach all his hopes, as his friends describe him. How could that be, when he said:

"There are traces yet of Khawlah in the stony trace of Thahmad apparent like the tattoo-marks seen on the back of the hand.[2]
At Rawḍat Duʿmī and Ḥāʾil's surrounding, I have cried and cried for a long while."

This indicates that what he wanted was that the remains of Khawlah would be full of life; however, it became empty of any aspect of life. He also said:

"How is it with me, that I observe my cousin Mālik, whenever I approach him, sheering off and keeping his distance."[3]

Ṭarafah wishes that his cousin were more approachable. In contrast, he became distant from him. Also, ʿAntarah said:

"I know what is happening today and what passed yesterday, but as for knowing what tomorrow will bring, there I am utterly blind."[4]

It is well known that ʿAntarah did not know all the things of today and yesterday. On the other hand, he wanted the things that only he himself knew and not all the other things that were unknown to him. Examples of this type are numerous in the language of the Arabs and their poetry. The Qurʾān was revealed in their language. God has said, "O believers, obey God, and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you" (4:59).

So this verse is specific to righteous people and not those who stray, whose deeds are evil. God does not give an order and then institute punishment for doing that particular deed. God has said, "And lean not on the evildoers, so that the Fire touches you..." (11:113). If God commanded us to obey them, of course he would not punish us for relying on them. Also, He has said to His Messenger, "and obey not him

(1) Ṭarafah was an Arab *jāhilī* poet.
(2) Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 83.
(3) Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 87.
(4) Arberry, *Seven Odes*, 118.

whose heart We have made neglectful of Our remembrance so that he follows his own lust, and his affair has become all excess" (18:28). Also, God has said, "And obey not one of them, sinner or unbeliever" (76:24). We join with the Prophet in following what God has ordered him, apart from what has been proved to relate only to him. If it were the case that the act is peculiar to him, then there is no excuse for you and us to obey anyone who has gone astray. The tyrant is a denier, and he errs. Both attributes are associated with him. The Prophet said, "Do not obey anyone who commands you to do evil; God created all of you." God said to his friend Abraham, "I make you a leader for the people" (2:124). Abraham asked, "And of my seed?" Allah said, "My covenant shall not reach the evildoers" (2:124). God rejects the evildoer as leader. And God informed Abraham and made sure that he knew that perfectly.

Anyone violating the justice of the Book[1] should fear God when saying untruthful things, incorrect sayings, and words twisted from their normal reference into ambiguity. As God has said about them in His Book, "It is He who sent down upon thee the Book, wherein are clear verses that are the essence of the Book, and others ambiguous. As for those in whose hearts is deviation, they follow the ambiguous part, desiring dissension, and desiring its interpretation; yet none know its interpretation except God. And those firmly rooted in knowledge say, 'We believe in it; all is from our Lord;' yet none remembers, but men possessed of minds" (3:7).

20- You should seek safety for yourself and beware of slipping into religious misjudgment, which leads to humiliating torture. Do not be lured by libertines who sell the hereafter for the life of this world. Surely, the life of this world deceives and infatuates its seekers. Moreover, it is vicious to its followers as well as deceitful to those who ask for more. It is so destructive to those who want to possess it, because it appears to be pleasure, but in reality it is vainglory. What is allowed (*ḥalāl*) is set for reckoning and what is forbidden is set for punishment. What seems to you abundant is meagre, and what is honourable is humiliating. The accumulators are plundered. Life's inhabitants are strangers. The beginning seems to be the path toward the fulfillment of dreams and ambitions, but the end is death.

21- Listener! Definitely, you have true knowledge about life and you have unveiled the authentic enlightenment. Truly, how you do not

(1) I.e. the Qur'ān.

know that, after you have seen it with your own eyes, heard it with your own ears, perceived it with your own heart, and declared it with your own tongue! When you are affected by your father's death, stricken by the loss of your brother, deprived of your grandfather, or devastated by your son's loss; when you keep on grieving over the loss of your property, and remain confused and worried about your ailments. Even when you wake up from this illusion, you go astray, immersed in running your monetary affairs and forgetful about what once marred your life. Today's business makes you unaware of what is awaiting you tomorrow. What you possess pressures you to be inattentive to yourself. Worldly existence is the cause of negligence of religious duties. Immaculate deliberation does not draw your attention to your duty, as though the house you live in makes you forget past adversities, such as the loss of brothers. How come you are unaware of the fact that one day you will be taken away from comfort carried in a coffin? You will be placed in a grave, and then you will be responsible for your deeds. In spite of all this, you are still so absorbed to the degree that you completely forget your sin, death, and resurrection. When your days are over, you are all in a sweat, and when you are so frail and too feeble to moan, you become bewildered and overwhelmed. You, then, are repentant of your unforgivable folly and misjudgment. Consequently, your sorrow is augmented and you reach a hopeless end, when you become confined to your ignorance by your erroneous judgment. You are doomed to suffer in hell and lose the felicity of paradise.

22- Finally, ask forgiveness from God for your sins. Make a strenuous effort for the salvation of your soul before death and the cessation of toil and hope. Having said that, may God almighty help you and us to obey Him, and bestow on you and us His blessing. He is forgiving, compassionate, and capable of doing what He likes. Thanks be to God, Lord of all beings, and may He send His blessing on Muḥammad and his chaste family, as well as on all the prophets, messengers, high ranking angels, and His pious worshippers, the inhabitants of heaven and earth. Peace be upon them all.

CHAPTER FOUR

IBĀḌISM IN EARLY ISLAMIC IRAN, CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

4.1 Siyar and Ibāḍī History in the East

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the three *siyar* presented in the previous chapters. They come from the Ibāḍī tradition, which is the source of a major part of ʿ*aqīdah*. Classical Ibāḍī *siyar* are usually described as basic references and chiefly theological studies, but in fact they are lively historical documents that shed light on the development of Ibāḍism. The objective is to demonstrate that *siyar* are valuable sources for improving our understanding of the major doctrinal and historical developments in Asia during the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries, which marked the birth of the *siyar*.

In order to place these *siyar* in their specific historical and geographical contexts, it is helpful to begin after the battle of Nahrawān (38/658). In particular, four aspects should be considered:

1- Ibāḍī history in the East, which includes the study of:
   a. the historical background of the Muḥakkimah and their relations with the East between 38 and 62/658 and 681,
   b. the schisms among the Muḥakkimah and the settlements in the East after 62/681,
   c. the Omanis and their adherence to Ibāḍism, namely the relationship between tribe and thought in early Islam, and specifically the relationship between Ibāḍism and the Azd clan,
   d. and other aspects of the relationships between Ibāḍism and the East.
2- The historical geography of Ibāḍī settlements in the East at the time of the *siyar*
3- The socio-political situation in Oman during the period of the *siyar*
4- The chronology of the imams in Oman

Al-Shahrastānī reports the events after the battle of Nahrawān (38/658): "After the Khawārij were defeated, two of them went to Oman, two to Kirmān,[1] two to Sīstān,[2] two to al-Jazīrah,[3] one to Tall Mawzān, and two others to Yemen."[4] He also reports, "…until now they are still in these locations." One could argue that these accounts highlight the beginning of the relationship between Ibāḍism and the regions of Eastern Mesopotamia. The aim of this chapter is to outline diachronic and synchronic discussions about the development of Ibāḍī thought in Eastern Mesopotamia, Iran and Central Asia during the Middle Ages. I am concerned with both the historical and the intellectual dimensions of Ibāḍī activity. With regard to the former dimension, I investigate the Ibāḍī and Omani historical contacts with other Asian regions, studying the extent of Omani imams' and religious scholars' contacts with other regions outside Iran. I emphasize Oman's significant influence on some of the events in the historical period of the Middle Ages. With regard to the latter dimension, I trace the expansion of Ibāḍī thought throughout Asia.

After the battle of Nahrawān the lands east of Mesopotamia became the centre of some of the Khārijī movements.[5] The battle of Nahrawān did not lead to the end of the Muḥakkimah. For ʿAlī, it was a doubtful victory, given that he had merely rid himself of the worst fanatics, while the majority remained ready to break out in rebellion at any moment.[6] The surviving followers from the battle settled in two

(1) Kirmān is a province in southern central Iran; see Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate,* 299-321.

(2) Sijistān (Sīstān) and its province is in the Hilmand Valley of western Afghanistan; see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 334-351.

(3) Al-Jazīrah is a province in upper Mesopotamia; see Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 86.

(4) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 176; see also al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 61. The number of people who survived the battle of Nahrawān seems to have been exaggerated. However, al-Yaʿqūbī states that less than ten men survived; see al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh,* 2: 169; Abū Qaḥṭān, in his *sīrah*, reports that four men survived; *al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 116. On the other hand, some accounts say that 400 men remained after the battle of Nahrawān. For a comparison of the accounts of this event, see al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 17: 136; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 4: 163; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 205.

(5) Lewinstein, "The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography", 251-268; see also Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*; Brünnow, *The Kharijites under the First Omayyads.*

(6) Brünnow, *Kharijites under the First Omayyads*, 12.

cities, Kufah and Basra, known as Khawārij al-Baṣrah and Khawārij al-Kūfah.(1) They flourished less in Syria than in Iraq, and Kufah and Basra were the most prosperous.(2) The so-called Khārijī school belonged to the Basran rather than to the Kufan(3) milieu, and its members were not concerned with defending privileges gained from participation in the conquest of Iraq. Nevertheless, a certain continuity is to be noted regarding the ideology by which the Muḥakkimah party had rationalized their position, and this led the group to be known also as Khawārij.(4)

This chapter focuses on four aspects of Ibāḍī history in the regions east of Mesopotamia: firstly, on the historical background of the Muḥakkimah and their relations with regions east of Mesopotamia between 38 and 62/658 and 681; secondly, on the schisms among the Muḥakkimah and settlements after 62/681; thirdly, on certain aspects of the relationships between Ibāḍism and the East; and finally, on the historical geography of Ibāḍī settlements in the East until the 6th/12th century.

4.2 The historical background of the Muḥakkimah

Let us return to the historical background of the Muḥakkimah leaders' communications in the eastern regions in the years after the battle of Nahrawān (38-61/658-687), which is the year of the death of the Muḥakkimah leader Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Ḥudayr.(5) We can trace the

(1) The leaders of those who remained after ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb were Abū Bilāl Mirdās b. Udayyah, Shabīb b. Bajrah, al-Mustawrad b. ʿUllafah al-Barrāk, and Wardān b. Majmaʿah al-ʿAklī; seeʿUsfūrī, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ*, 149.

(2) Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 14.

(3) The last rebellion of the Kufan Khawārij under their leaders Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī and Muʿādh b. Juwayn al-Ṭāʾī took place in 58/677, when Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī was elected as caliph and his companions pledged allegiance to him. Ḥayyān proposed going to Ḥulwān to assemble all the like-minded supporters; in the subsequent battle which took place between Kufah and Rayy, they were killed. See al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 18: 192-196. As to their revolt in Kufah, a *sīrah* from the people of the Maghrib to Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik records their early leaders, starting with Ziyād b. Kharāsh, moving on to Tamīm b. Maslamah, and finally dealing with ʿAlī al-Aʿraj; see Al-Salimi, *The Omani siyar as a Literary Genre*, 23. Concerning the Ibāḍīs in Iraq, there were Ibāḍī theologians from Kufah who were followed by the Nukkār of North Africa. See Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 250.

(4) Wilkinson, "The early development of the Ibādi movement in Basra", 125-142.

(5) On Abū Bilāl's death, see al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 19: 183-184; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 303. The Khawārij of Basra experienced a schism after the death of Abū Bilāl; see al-al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil,* 2: 208-213.

principles of Ibāḍism in the East before the formation and crystallization of Khārijī ideology. Their first principle is the *hijrah* (emigration). This term emerged when a number of the Muḥakkimah were determined to leave their homes and called themselves emigrants (*muhājirūn*), and the place where they went was called *muhājar* or *dār hijrah*.[(1)] Their second principle is *takfīr* (charge of disbelief), whereby they speak of themselves as professors of the unity of God (*muwaḥḥidūn*) and call other Muslims polytheists. For this reason, they considered the latters' land as a land of war.[(2)] Their third principle is *istiʿrāḍ*, killing on religious grounds.[(3)]

The communication between the Muḥakkimah and the eastern lands began soon after the battle of Nahrawān. Their movement started with insurrections[(4)] against the central government, since they had rejected the arbitration between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah. At the beginning of these insurrections, in 38/658, a certain Khirrīt b. Rāshid al-Nājī separated from ʿAlī, because the arbitrator appointed by ʿAlī had deposed ʿAlī. Even the people of Khūzistān[(5)] went over to him in the hopes of ridding themselves of the oppressive poll tax (*jizyah*). Some even had the boldness to expel ʿAlī's governor from Fārs, and the situation remained like this until Ziyād b. Abīh, who was sent to Basra by ʿAlī, succeeded in driving them away. Khirrīt's insurrection was routed by Maʿqil b. Qays, and Khirrīt was slain.[(6)] Al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Athīr mention some insurrections in the immediate aftermath of Nahrawān. Ashras b. ʿAwf al-Shaybānī took 200 men to Daskara[(7)] and was killed in Rabīʿ II 38/September 658. Hilāl b. ʿUllafah of the Taym Ribāb and his brother Mujālid led more than 200 men in Māsbadhān[(8)] and died in Jumādā I 38/October 658. Ashhab b. Bishr of the Bajilah led 180 men

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(1) They used Qur'ānic proof-texts to support these arguments; Qur'ān, 4:100, 8:74. See also *EI*[2], s.v. "Hiḏjra"; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt al-islāmīyīn*, 8.

(2) *EI*[2], s.v. "Khāriḏjites".

(3) *EI*[2], s.v. "Istiʿrāḍ".

(4) Watt gives a list of their revolts, from their first uprising to 680; Watt, "Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period", 215-231.

(5) Khūzistān is a province in eastern Iran, presently known as ʿArabistān; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 232.

(6) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 183.

(7) Daskarah is a village northeast of Nahrawān; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 80.

(8) Māsbadhān is a town in the province of Jibāl in northern Iran; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202.

and was killed at Jarjarāya[(1)] on the Tigris on 11 Jumādā II/November 658. Saʿīd b. Qufal al-Timī of Tim Allāh led 200 men to Bandanījān[(2)] and was killed in Rajab 38/December 658. Abū Maryam al-Saʿdī al-Tamīmī led an army, mainly composed of *mawālī*, and was killed in Bādūrayā[(3)] in Ramaḍān 38/February 659.[(4)] Then in 41/661, 500 Khārijī horsemen, under the leadership of Farwah b. Nawfal al-Ashjaʿī, escaped the slaughter at Nahrawān, because they did not take part in the battle and withdrew to Bandanījān near Daskara in Shahrazūr.[(5)] Thereafter, in 42/662, the Azraqite leader Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah[(6)] joined in the early Umayyad conquest in Persia with al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah[(7)] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samurah to raid Sīstān, under the command of Basra's governor, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir.[(8)] The Khārijī insurrection, however, continued until 43/663, when the Khawārij of Kufah revolted under al-Mustawrad b. ʿUllafah, who was killed in Daylamāyā.[(9)] In 49/669, when al-Mughīrah b. Shuʿbah was the governor of Kufah, Shabīb b. Bajrah al-Ashjaʿī rebelled; then al-Mughīrah sent a force led by Kathīr b. Shihāb al-Ḥārithī, and Shabīb was killed in Azerbaijan.[(10)] Afterwards, in 58/678, Ḥayyān b. Ẓabyān al-Sulamī, a Khārijī, who had been wounded at Nahrawān but had been allowed by ʿAlī to return to Kufah, left the town and proceeded to Rayy[(11)] with ten companions, and that was the last great uprising originating in Kufah. Kufah was in fact predominantly

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(1) Jarjarāya was the capital of the district of lower Nahrawān, close to the Tigris; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 37.

(2) Bandanijān is a village northeast of Nahrawān; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 63, 80.

(3) A village in northern Baghdad; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 248-298, 66; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 205. Abū Maryam was a slave of al-Ḥārith b. Kaʿb who rebelled.

(4) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 188-189; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 4: 163-175.

(5) Shahrazūr is a town north of Ḥulwān, on the border between Iraq and Iran. The ruins of the old city are now known as Yāsīn Tāppah; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 248-298.

(6) *EI²*, s.v. "Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fuḏjāʾa".

(7) *EI²*, s.v. "Muhallabids".

(8) ʿUsfūrī, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ*, 154; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 396.

(9) It is one of the villages of Bahurasīr, on an inlet of the Tigris; al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 18: 33, 62; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 212.

(10) ʿUsfūrī, *Tārīkh Khalīfah b. Khayyāṭ*, 157. Ibn al-Athīr mentions that Shabīb was killed in Kufah in 41/661 by Khālid b. ʿUṭrufah or Maʿqil b. Qays; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 206.

(11) A town in western Iran, in the northeastern corner of the province known as Jibāl; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 214-215.

Shīʿī, and much less time was required to extirpate the Khawārij there than in Basra, where the party was able to assert itself in spite of all persecution for twenty years.(1) Also in 58/678, one famous leader in Basra, ʿUrwah b. Udayyah, was killed by ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād, who was the governor of Basra.(2) Some time after 58/678 Abū Bilāl emigrated to Ahwāz,(3) but was killed in 61/681 in Āsak.(4)

This historical overview is relevant to our study. The ideas expressed in early Islamic movements are linked to socio-political contexts. The connection between ideologies and politics in Islamic societies is particularly crucial for our understanding.(5)

The above list of insurrections gives an impression of the pattern of movement in early Islam. It is remarkable that the leaders of the Khārijī movement continued to communicate in Iraq and the regions east of Mesopotamia, and some of them took part in *hijrah* or rebellions. Yet their movement had not yet coalesced into an organization under one leadership. It remained disjointed under separate leaders. This might be because they viewed the Caliphate as an office that was taken by force. Thus they started to look for places to launch their rebellion. Wellhausen questions why the Khawārij did not opt for the Arabian Desert as a place of refuge, and instead chose non-Arab regions, like the area of Jūkhā (on the northeastern side of the Tigris), Ahwāz, Media, and Fārs.(6) Of course, they had in fact lost their contact with the desert tribes through the *hijrah*, through emigration to the garrison cities, and through enlisting in the Muslim army.(7) Wellhausen explains that they were mostly military stipendiaries of the state, *muqātilah*; they were continually attracted and encouraged by the success of their *jihād*. Once accustomed to a life of leisure in urban centres, they did not want to return to the Arabian steppes. Yet they were driven to engage in public protest, even at the

(1) Brünnow, *Kharijites under the First Omayyads*, 14.

(2) On Abū Bilāl's death, see al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 18: 197; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 255. Ibn al-Athīr mentions another report according to which ʿUrwah was killed in 61/681 after the death of his brother Abū Bilāl; *al-Kāmil*, 3: 304.

(3) It is in the province of Khūzistān and was the capital city of the region; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 232.

(4) Āsak is a town in Ahwāz; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 244, 247; al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 19: 91; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 303.

(5) See Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, 1: 40-97.

(6) Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 12.

(7) Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions,* 12.

expense of their lives.[1] Therefore, it is conceivable that they gradually started to lose tribal support (*ʿaṣabīyah*) on account of their being stubborn proponents of the celebrated "equality", which had already been adopted by the *mawālī*. Brünnow may be correct in saying that the Khawārij did not come from the Quraysh or the Thaqīf or the Anṣār; rather, they first arose among the politically underprivileged.[2] It is also to be noted that the lands of the East were used by different movements to gain support against the central state.

4.3 The schisms among the Muḥakkimah and the settlements in the East

The year 61/680 marks the beginning of the doctrinal transformation of Islamic sects, not only the Muḥakkimah, but also the Shīʿite, because this period witnessed the killing of al-Ḥusayn at the hands of the governor of Iraq, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād.[3] From this time onward the regions east of Mesopotamia gradually became an open field for early Islamic movements, not only Khawārij and Shīʿah, but also for other infiltrating sects related to other movements.[4]

We now have an understanding of the commencement of the schisms among the Khawārij.[5] The Bakrīs, Abū Ṭālūt, Abū Fudayk, and Ibn al-Aswad, and the Ḥanafīs, including Najdā b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī,[6] settled in Yamama and later rebelled. The Tamīmīs, Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaffār, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ, and Hanẓalah b. Bayhas, went to Mecca to support Ibn al-Zubayr.[7] This was the first development

(1) Watt, "Khārijite Thought in the Umayyad Period", 217.

(2) Brünnow, *Kharijites under the First Omayyads*, 17.

(3) On the death of al-Ḥusayn, see al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 19: 91; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 266; al-Iṣfahānī, *Maqātil al-ṭālibīyīn*, 78.

(4) Throughout the Umayyad period the East served as a refuge for political and religious movements and rebellions. See Lewis, B., "On the Revolution in Early Islam", 215-231.

(5) On the schisms among the Khawārij, see for example, al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 2: 213; *EI*[2], s.v. "Khāridjites".

(6) At the beginning of the schism among the Muḥakkimah, al-Mubarrad recounts that they followed three leaders: Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, Abū Bayhas, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ; the Najdīyah and the Ṣufrīyah, however, followed Ibn Ibāḍ; *al-Kāmil*, 2: 213; see also Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 89-90.

(7) Regarding the Khārijī tribes, see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 310; Ibn Khaldūn points out that the Khawārij had been of one view, and that they differed only in their interpretation; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 311. We should remember that the heresiographical works hold

beyond the original doctrinal kernel of the Basran Muḥakkimah. The second step was the split from Ibn al-Zubayr,(1) while Ibn al-Azraq was the first to split from the Basran Muḥakkimah leaders.(2) Subsequently, the Muḥakkimah were composed of two groups, the first group known as *al-Qaʿadah*(3) and the second as the Khawārij. There were differences of opinion between those who remained at home and those who adopted radical insurrection with the Khawārij and did not fight on the path of God. A party called the Ibāḍīyah was rejected, and the Basran Muḥakkimah was mostly accepted.(4) In Basra, however, the Ibāḍīyah found little support and Ibn al-Azraq attracted the largest number of followers.(5) Najdah b. ʿĀmir and his followers, on the other hand, went to Yamama and spread their doctrines.(6) The followers of both Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq and Najdah b. ʿĀmir al-Ḥanafī were not so much theologians as essentially political and military activists.(7) Hence their pattern of behaviour remained contentious, and a great many non-Arab people joined them.(8) By the end of the 1st/7th century the Azāriqah had already

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different views regarding the nature, divisions, and numbers of the Khawārij. Al-Ashʿarī says that there were originally four groups of Khawārij: Ibāḍīyah, Ṣufrīyah, Najdīyah, and Azāriqah; the other sub-sects were within the Ṣufrīyah; see al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 18. On the other hand, al-Shahrastānī states that the Khawārij consisted of six groups, adding the ʿAjāridah and the Thaʿālibah; see al-Shahrastānī, *Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 86; see also al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4: 180. For other accounts of the Khārijī sub-sects, see Elie Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawārij,* 25, or the *sīrah* from the people of the Maghrib to Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik, referred to in al-Salimi, *The Omani siyar as a Literary Genre*, 23. It gives a chronological list of the Khawārij in Basra: Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraq, Najdah b. ʿĀmir, ʿAṭīyah b. Ziyād, Ṣāliḥ, Shabīb, Abū Bayhas, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaffār, Jahm b. Ṣafwān, al-Thaʿlabī, Shuʿayb al-Kirmānī, Dāwūd, Maṭar, Manṣūr, al-Ḥaydam, ʿAzīz, Ḥamzah, Abū Isḥāq, and Abū ʿAwf.

(1) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 335; al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 20: 101.

(2) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 6; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 89; *EI*², s.v. "Azāriḳa".

(3) This is in contrast to *khurūj*. The name *Qaʿadah* refers to people who stay at home, unlike the Khawārij, who are people who go out. See *EI*², s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".

(4) Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, 25.

(5) Wellhausen, *Religio-Political Factions*, 45; Keith Lewinstein, "The Azāriqa in Islamic Heresiography", 251-268.

(6) Ibn Khaldūn provides relevant details regarding the Najdīyah; see *Tārīkh*, 3: 314; see also Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 352; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 91; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 11. Even more interesting and relevant is al-Mubarrad's hypothesis that the views of the Najdīyah and the Ṣufrīyah were in line with Ibn Ibāḍ at that time; see al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, 2: 213.

(7) Watt, "Khārijite Thought", 217.

(8) Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, 45.

become extinct.[1] Eventually, from a heresiographical perspective, the Khawārij were split into more or less twenty groups. There was nothing to unify them ideologically except two theories: the principle that the Caliph need not necessarily be from the Quraysh, and the idea that the importance of deeds stems from the fact that they are an element of the Faith.[2]

Through the schism among the Khawārij, the regions east of Mesopotamia became places of refuge and migration, and in the heartland of the Caliphate, i.e. Arabia and Syria, the Khawārij gradually disappeared. Each group, in seceding, crystallized its own ideologies. The heresiographical literature gives us limited information on their evolution and activity in the East. Tracing their migration to the East may help us to comprehend the dimensions of their thought as well as their settlements. The Azāriqah were the first group to play a role among the Khawārij in the East. Their rebellion was about collecting taxes from certain regions. Their insurrection continued over the second half of the 1st/7th century, beginning in Ahwāz and Fārs, and lasted until they were destroyed by al-Muhallab.[3] Their tendency to rebel persisted during the Umayyad period, and their last insurrection was led by Ṣubayḥ, the *mawlā* of Siwār b. al-Asʿar al-Māzinī, during the reign of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik.[4] However, Qaṭarī b. al-Fujāʾah kept a firm hold on the province of Fārs, as indicated by the coins minted in his name with the title Commander of the Faithful, which circulated in several towns in Fārs in the years 69-75/688-695.[5] Although most of the Azāriqah had been killed, sub-sects survived, namely al-Khāzimīyah and al-Bidʿīyah.[6] Yāqūt reports that members of the Azāriqah settled in a place called Albānu, between Kabul and Ghaznīn, and that there were scholars, artists, and traders among them.[7] Moreover, Ibn Ḥazm notes that some Azāriqah had settled in Andalusia; their leading scholar was Abū Ismāʿīl al-Baṭḥī.[8] Ibn Khaldūn considers that the leaders of both the Carmathians and the Zanj rebellion were Azāriqah.[9]

(1) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 345.
(2) Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 55.
(3) Wellhausen traces their rebellion in detail in *Religio-Political Factions*, 45-78; see also Brünnow, *Khārijites under the First Omayyads*, 11.
(4) There is doubt whether Ṣubayḥ was a Ṣufrī or a Najdī; see Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, 3: 190.
(5) Miles, G., "Some New Light on the History of Kirmân", 85-98.
(6) Van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 68, 69.
(7) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 1: 244.
(8) Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, 3: 189.
(9) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 37, 183.

However, there is no proof from Ibn Khaldūn's notes that he described the Carmathians as Khawārij, though he may well have regarded the radical parties – i.e. those who supported or took part in insurgencies – as Khawārij.

The Najdīyah also tried to expand their influence in the East after they had spread throughout most of Arabia. Najdah b. ʿĀmir sent ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad to Sīstān, and soon after a successful recruitment campaign in Marw the Najdīyah split(1) into three groups, led by Abū Fudayk, ʿAṭīyah b. al-Aswad,(2) and Najdah b. ʿĀmir. The most successful group were al-ʿAṭawīyah,(3) the followers of ʿAṭīyah, who spread their thought in many settlements, mostly in Sīstān, Khurāsān, Kirmān, and Qūhistān.(4) There were more or less fifteen sub-sects.(5) Al-Shahrastānī mentions some of them: the ʿAjāridah,(6) followers of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAjrad in Sīstān,(7) the Khalafīyah, followers of Khalaf al-Khārijī in Kirmān and Makrān,(8) and the Shaybānīyah, followers of Ziyād b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaybānī in Jurjān, Nasā, and Armenia.(9)

The Ṣufrīyah also had settlements in Central Asia. According to Ibn Ḥazm, the ʿAjāridah, who were considered a sub-sect of the Ṣufrīyah, were mainly in Khurāsān in the second half of the 2nd/8th century.(10) The Ḥamzīyah were followers of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khārijī, who mounted a rebellion in Sīstān and Khurāsān in 179/795, in an attempt to establish a Ṣufrī state.(11)

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(1) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 13.

(2) Ibn Khaldūn mentions that when the Najdīyah were in schism, ʿAṭīyah tried to seize Oman without success and then moved on to Kirmān. Later, al-Muhallab fought and killed ʿAṭīyah in Qandābīl; see Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 3: 314. However, Ibn al-Athīr mentions that "there is another opinion: that the Khawārij might have killed him"; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 3: 353. ʿAṭīyah also minted coins in Kirmān called al-ʿAṭawīyah; see Miles, G., "Some New Light on the History of Kirmân", 85-98.

(3) Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2: 354.

(4) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 193. Al-Rāzī adds that most of the Khawārij in Sīstān were Najdīs; al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiqādāt firaq al-muslimīn wa-al-kāfirīn*, 47.

(5) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 13-19.

(6) Ibn Ḥazm asserts that the ʿAjāridah are a sub-sect of the Ṣufrīyah; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, 4: 190.

(7) Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 187.

(8) Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal,* 1: 203.

(9) Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 210.

(10) Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, 4: 191.

(11) For more details, see Skladanek, "Elements of Chronology of the Khārijite Insurrection", 81-95. However, some heresiographies reckon that the Ḥamzīyah was a sub-sect of the ʿAjāridah and the ʿAṭawīyah. See also Scarcia, "Lo scambio di lettere", 303.

4.4 Other aspects of the relationship between Ibāḍism and the East

We have already discussed the development of the Khawārij's relationship with the East, starting from the beginning of the *fitnah*, and we have seen how they came to play an increasingly significant role in the wake of the other doctrines that appeared during the early days of Islam. The crisis, which followed the death of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiyah, marks the splintering of the Khawārij and the birth of Ibāḍism. Part of the political crisis was due to the Ibāḍīs' adoption of *quʿūd*, on account of which the other Khawārij called them *qaʿada* or *waqifa*, meaning "stay-at-homes". The Ibāḍīs are not important in themselves, but they merit attention, as they represent the transitional phase that distinguishes them from the Khawārij. The Ibāḍīs believed that grave sinners should be regarded as ingrates (*kuffār al-niʿam*), which implies *kufr*.(1) However, contrary to this opinion the Muʿtazilah regarded grave sinners as neither believers nor unbelievers, but rather as caught in an intermediate position (*al-manzilah bayna al-manzilatayn*). The Ibāḍīs' adoption of this new concept led to proposals for the reformation and reorganization of Ibāḍī political thought in Basra. Regarding this issue, Jābir b. Zayd turned to the Umayyad caliph and declared: "A tyrant sultan [who] is a punishment to people. If you are in a powerful position, try to direct him to follow the truth, and if you have fear of him, then keep supplicating to God."(2) At the beginning of the 2nd/8th century the states of belief were doctrinally classified by Abū Nūḥ Ṣāliḥ b. Nūḥ al-Dahhān according to three categories of believers: 1) those who praise ʿUthmān and do not relinquish *irjāʿ*, 2) those who praise ʿAlī and do not renounce Shīʿism, and 3) those who are still on the right path (i.e., the Ibāḍīs).(3) As Wellhausen notes, the Khawārij entered another stage towards the end of the Umayyad period, when the Khārijī movement took on a totally different character. When Umayyad rule began to dissolve, the Khārijī movement joined in the revolution that would topple the dynasty. The small number of troops characteristic of Khārijī armies grew enormously.(4) The transfer of power from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbasids generally affected the activities of the Khawārij. During this

(1) Watt, *Formative Period*, 29-30.
(2) Al-Kindī, A., *al-Muṣannaf*, 10: 252.
(3) Al-Shammākhī, *al-Siyar*, 1: 83.
(4) Wellhausen, *Politico-Religious Factions*, 80.

period, the Ibāḍīs of Basra continued to live in a state of *kitmān*, keeping their beliefs secret.[(1)]

The Ibāḍīs' relations with the regions east of Mesopotamia may be regarded as the second stage of Ibadi history. Here I have focused specifically on the era after the Ibāḍīs split off from the other Khārijī sects, and the relationship during that period between Ibāḍism and the East. The chronicles are silent about the relationship between Ibāḍism and these lands after the 70s/690s, perhaps due to the Khārijīs' adoption of insurrection in their movement, while the Ibāḍīs called this the period of *kitmān* (quiescence). Therefore, Ibāḍī biographical dictionaries do not record the first generation (*ṭabaqah*) of Ibāḍī scholars from the lands east of Mesopotamia. However, studies investigating the lists of names in the Ibāḍī biographical dictionaries and works of the second Ibāḍī generation show that the Ibāḍīs were able to attract Persians and other non-Arabs. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the people who were starting to formulate Ibāḍism were locals from Basra, such as Jaʿfar b. al-Sammāk[(2)] (the son of the fisherman; variant Sammān, butter merchant), Abū Nūḥ Ṣāliḥ b. Nūḥ al-Dahhān[(3)] (the painter/greaser), who lived in the Ṭā'yī quarter, and Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim b. Abī Karīmah, a basket weaver (*qaffāf*) who was a client (*mawlā*) of Tamīm.[(4)] Abū ʿUbaydah succeeded Jābir b. Zayd and became the second leader of Ibāḍism. Abū ʿUbaydah may have been Persian, because his name was Kūdīn, Kūrzīn, or Kūrīn.[(5)] Also among them were Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī,[(6)] one of the famous Ibāḍī jurists, Ḥabīb b. Sābūr,[(7)] and Abū al-Naẓar al-Khurāsānī,[(8)] and other notable Khurāsānīs.[(9)] Hence it is no wonder that al-Darjīnī wrote a chapter in his

(1) *EI*[2], s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya". There are also two useful articles that discuss the transformation during this period; Laura Veccia Vaglieri has discussed most of the Khārijī activities and rebellions in the ʿAbbasid era in "Le vicende del Harigismo in epoca abbaside", 31-44; Watt gives details and brief accounts of the transformation policy in "The Significance of Khārijism under the ʿAbbasids", 381-387.

(2) Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 232; al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 74.

(3) Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 210, 240, 254, 276; al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 81.

(4) Wilkinson, "The Early Development of the Ibādi Movement in Basra", 137.

(5) Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, 1: 347, 3: 265; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, 23: 224; *EI*[2], s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".

(6) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 96; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 251.

(7) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 98; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 250.

(8) Al-Sālimī,ʿA., *Lumʿah*, 6; al-Sālimī states that he adopted Ibāḍism.

(9) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 81, 107, 108; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 248.

work[1] entitled "The virtues of Persians", in which he relates a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says, "God has a treasure that is neither gold nor silver, but it is in the bellies of the Persians."[2] He also relates a *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says, "If the religion [Islam] were to hang down from the Pleiades, the non-Arab people would reach it, and the luckiest of them would be the Persians."[3] Al-Ashʿarī claims that the Yazīdīs are a sub-sect of the Ibāḍīs, and the followers of Yazīd b. Unaysah went so far as to claim that God would raise up a prophet from among the Persians and would reveal to him a book, and this book would be revealed as a whole and complete. This caused the Ibāḍīs to dissociate themselves from them.[4] The Yazīdīs had previously been considered Ibāḍīs and eventually moved to Tūn,[5] which is part of Fārs.[6]

During the time of the first Ibāḍī generation there was no discussion of free will and predestination (*qadar*). Later this became the main topic of debate among Ibāḍī theologians. A certain Ibāḍī scholar, Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī, gave the following advice concerning the Qadarīyah: "Talk with them about [divine] knowledge (*kallimūhum fī al-ʿilm*). If they admit the *qadar*, they contradict [their doctrine]; if they deny it, they fall into disbelief."[7] As a result, the issue of *qadar* led to a schism among the Ibāḍīs. The Ḥārithīyah held a different view from the rest of the Ibāḍīs concerning the Muʿtazilī position on *qadar*. They claimed that capacity exists before the act, and that there are acts of obedience not directed towards God.[8] This view gradually attracted followers during Abū ʿUbaydah's time, such as Ḥamzah al-Kūfī,[9] ʿAṭīyah, and Ghaylān. Among the followers during al-Rabīʿ b. Ḥabīb's time were Shuʿayb b. al-Maʿrūf, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and Ibn ʿUmayr ʿĪsā.[10]

(1) Al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1: 12; al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 43-53.

(2) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 12.

(3) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 13.

(4) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 20; al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal,* 1: 216.

(5) A city in the province of Quhistān. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2: 62.

(6) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal,* 1: 215; Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft,* 2: 614.

(7) Van Ess, "The Beginning of Islamic Theology", 20; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 233.

(8) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 215; al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 20.

(9) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 79, 97; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 243. Lewicki argues that Ḥamzah al-Kūfī was the founder of the Ḥārithīyah sect, which emerged after the middle of the 3rd/9th century; *EI*², s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya". On the other hand, al-Baghdādī notes that the Ḥārithīyah were the followers of Ḥārith b. Mazyad, who received knowledge from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibāḍ; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 84; Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2: 204.

(10) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 97, 110.

Additionally, as al-Shammākhī shows, Abrāha b. ʿAṭīyah and his father called upon the Ibāḍīs of Khurāsān to follow the Qadarī view on predestination.[(1)] Hārūn b. al-Yamān followed the Shuʿaybīyah, who had adopted similar views to the Qadarīyah[(2)] in Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl's time (d. 220/835). Hārūn and Maḥbūb led a wider debate among the Ibāḍīs in Arabia. Consequently, the Ibāḍīs of Yemen followed Hārūn b. al-Yamān.[(3)] Elie Salem notes that the Eastern Church influenced the Khawārij with regard to the doctrine of free will. Moreover, he says that Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī al-Najrānī, the founder of the Khārijī sub-sect Aṣḥāb al-Suʾāl, came from Najrān, a Christian area prior to Islam. His thesis is that the doctrine of free will in Islam was influenced by Christians in Syria and Iraq.[(4)] On the other hand, Wilferd Madelung has discovered an important book, *K. al-Najāt* by Aḥmad al-Nāṣir, who was a Zaydī imam. This book was written to refute ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Baghdādī's anti-Qadarī views. The book reveals that there was a debate between the Ibāḍī groups in Iraq and Yemen and the Qadarīyah at the end of the 4th/10th century. Furthermore, *K. al-Najāt* preserves for us the book of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd against the Qadarīyah.[(5)] Indeed, during the development of the Ibāḍī school in Basra and until the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, *qadar* was the Ibāḍīs' primary theological concern. Despite this, Watt postulates that theologically the Ibāḍīs had no influence in Iraq.[(6)] Josef van Ess in turn has observed, possibly correctly, how far the Ibāḍī school in Basra developed in discussing the subject of *qadar*.[(7)] In the following years this state of affairs led to the schism among the Ibāḍīs, dividing them into rational and traditional groups. The latter eventually took control of the Ibāḍīs.[(8)]

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(1) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 96. On the other hand, al-Darjīnī claims that this happened in Najrān; *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 276.

(2) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 157; *al-Siyar wa-al-jawabāt*, 1: 237-373.

(3) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 158; see also Watt, *Free Will and Predestination*, 32-40.

(4) See Salem, *Political Theory and Institutions*, 42; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 145; Cook, "The Origins of Kalām", 31-37.

(5) Madelung, *Streitschrift des Zaiditenimams Aḥmad an-Nāṣir wider die ibaditische Prädestinationslehre*; furthermore, Ibn al-Nadīm, in al-Fihrist, denigrates some Ibāḍī scholars and their anti-Qadarīyah works; Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 452, 589.

(6) Watt, *Formative Period*, 152.

(7) Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2: 202.

(8) ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī explains the development of Ibāḍism during that time: "The followers of al-Rabīʿ (b. Ḥabīb) developed further than us because they followed the *āthār* (tradition) and we followed *raʾy* (opinion)"; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 2: 477.

The Ibāḍī tradition preserves a creed by Abū al-Faḍl ʿĪsā b. Fūrak al-Khārijī,[1] who belonged to the Sīstānī sect of Ḥamzah al-Khārijī and wrote between 215/830 and 218/833 (or 260/874 at the latest).[2] This creed, which was presented with comments by Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb (d. 260/874) and presented again by Abū Saʿīd al-Kudamī in the 4th/10th century, makes it clear that the Khawārij of Sīstān did not identify themselves as Azāriqah, contrary to what some researchers might have expected. However, Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb, commenting on the creed, notes that they agree with the *qadar*, and he is seized by a paroxysm of rage at this point, indignantly restating the position of the Ibāḍīs on the relationship with their *qawm*, claiming that Ibn Fūrak misrepresents them, which, as al-Kudamī notes, is not true at all.[3] Crone and Zimmermann suggest that the creed shows that the Sīstānī Khawārij rejected the central Ibāḍī doctrines concerning the status of non-Khārijī *ahl al-qiblah*; they were sufficiently related in creed – in their view – "to make us feel that the letter's *qawm* was as our *qawm*."[4] One can see here a theological gap between the time after al-Rabīʿ's death (170s/786-796) and Maḥbūb's departure from the Ibāḍī centre in Basra. Similarly, the available records provide only little information regarding a possible correlation between the theological progress in Ibāḍī doctrine and the collapse of the Ibāḍī movement in Basra.

As reflected in the above presentation, one can see that the issue of *qadar* dominated debates during Maḥbūb's time. However, there are two possible explanations for the pressure that led to the eclipse of the Ibāḍīs in Basra. Firstly, one could suspect that Maḥbūb was unable to rule the Ibāḍī scholars in Basra and therefore left. This suggests that the Ibāḍī sources ignored the Ibāḍī scholars who settled there later. This seems to be correct, judging from the *sīrah* sent to Imam al-Ṣalt, which states that the Ibāḍīs had divided into three groups: the followers of Maḥbūb, the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd, and the followers of Hārūn.[5] Secondly, since the Ibāḍī leaders in Basra submitted their differences to the Omani imam and were indeed losing grasp of the

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(1) Al-Saʿdī, *Qāmūs al-sharīʿah*, 3: 285-298; al-Kindī, M., *Bayān al-sharʿ*, 3: 277-294.

(2) See Crone, "A Statement by the Najdiyya Khārijites on the Dispensability of the Imamate", 55-76.

(3) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 274.

(4) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 274.

(5) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 204.

leadership, Crone and Zimmermann conjecture that Maḥbūb left Basra for political rather than for theological reasons. That is to say, he did not leave because the Ibāḍī Basran leadership, i.e. Rabīʿ and Maḥbūb, had gone to spend the rest of their lives in Oman, nor because Oman became a spiritual centre of Ibāḍism, but because the Omanis and North African Ibāḍism had developed separate identities.(1) So the majority of Ibāḍīs outside Basra had passed into the hands of local imams capable of backing their decisions with military power, and the Basrans could respond to this development only by emigrating.(2) Of course, without the mediation of Basra communication between the North African and Omani Ibāḍīs became difficult. Ennami notes that the Nukkār in North Africa followed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Ḥātim b. Manṣūr, and Abū al-Muʾarrij in *fiqh*, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī in theology.(3) Indeed, this formation between the Ibāḍīs in *Mashāriqa* and *Maghāriba* can be considered as the third stage in the Ibāḍī school after *fitnat al-taḥkīm* and the schism among the Khawārij.

At the beginning of the 2nd/8th century the Ibāḍīyah were able to define their doctrine, and from this period onward their members began to be known to others as Ibāḍīs.(4) At the same time they began to realize that there was a need to concentrate on their *daʿwah* (missions) and on the activities of their *ḥamalat al-ʿilm ilā al-amṣār* (missionaries to the settlements).(5) As the historical reports of the Ibāḍī missionaries show, they were sent out from Oman, North Africa, Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt and Khurāsān, and even more is known about them.

It is possible to identify the Ibāḍī scholars from Eastern Mesopotamia from the beginning 2nd/8th century onward through a survey of the Ibāḍī *fiqh* works. Among the earlier Ibāḍī generation of *ḥadīth* narrators was Ḥamād b. Isḥāq al-Khwārazmī, who might have been a contemporary of Abū ʿUbaydah Muslim.(6) The Ibāḍī revolt at the end of the Umayyad period, led by Ṭālib al-Ḥaqq in Arabia, was actively

(1) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 311-312.
(2) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 311-312.
(3) Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 263.
(4) *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya"; Wilkinson, "The Early Development of the Ibādi Movement in Basra", 139.
(5) *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya"; Wilkinson, "The Early Development of the Ibādi Movement in Basra", 39; Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 122.
(6) Al-Frāhīdī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 353.

backed by the Persian Qurʾān reader, grammarian, and poet ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bishkast in Medina.[(1)] Furthermore, al-Sālimī preserves for us the list of Ibāḍī scholars who served as missionaries in Khurāsān and Central Asia: Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hāshim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khurāsānī,[(2)] Naṣr b. Sulaymān, Maḥmūd b. Naṣr, and Abū Manṣūr al-Khurāsānī.[(3)] Several of the Khurāsānī men had previously supported Imam al-Julandā b. Masʿūd in establishing the first imamate of Oman in 131/748. Among them was Hilāl b. ʿAṭīyah, who became the *qāḍī* for the imam and died with him in 134/751 while fighting against the ʿAbbasids.[(4)] According to Madelung, he was the first Ibāḍī missionary in Khurāsān.[(5)] There is also mention of his brother Shabīb b. ʿAṭīyah,[(6)] who served as *muḥtasib* between the death of Imam al-Julandā and the imamate of Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAffān, Abū Manṣūr al-Khurāsānī, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Khurāsānī, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hāshim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khurāsānī.[(7)] Among them was also Abū Hāshim Nāfiʿ b. Jarīr al-Khurāsānī, who lived in Basra and transmitted *āthār* from al-Rabīʿ. He was a scholar of traditional Omani *fiqh*.[(8)] According to Abū Ghānim al-Khurāsānī, other Ibāḍī legal scholars teaching in Khurāsān at this time were Ḥātim b. Manṣūr and Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.[(9)]

From 161/777 to 297/909 the Rustamid dynasty[(10)] united all the Ibāḍīs in North Africa around a centre in western Algeria. This family claimed to be descended from pre-Islamic Persian royalty.[(11)] At the end of the 2nd/8th century Abū ʿĪsā Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl al-Khurāsānī sent a letter from the Ibāḍī centre in Basra to Tāhart in North Africa in support of the

(1) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 74.
(2) Ibn Sallām al-Ibāḍī, *Badʾ al-islām*, 115.
(3) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Lumʿah*, 13.
(4) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 95.
(5) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 74.
(6) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 105.
(7) Ibn Maddād, *Sīrah*, 5.
(8) Ibn Jaʿfar, *Jāmiʿ*, 2: 103, 234.
(9) Al-Khurāsānī, *Mudawwanah*, 1: 205.
(10) *EI*[2], s.v. "Rustamids".
(11) The genealogy of the founder of the Rustamid dynasty is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Bahrām b. Dastār b. Sābūr b. Bābakān b. Sābūr; al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 130. According to al-Shammākhī the genealogy is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Bahrām b. Sām b. Kisrā; ibid., 1: 113; and according to al-Darjīnī it is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam b. Bahrām b. Kisrā b. Dhū Shīrāz b. Sābūr b. Bābakān b. Sābūr; *Ṭabaqāt*, 1: 19. See also Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 6: 223-225; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharah*, 475.

election to the imamate of the Rustamid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (171-208/788-824) against the Khalafīyah.(1) The famous Ibāḍī work *K. al-Mudawwanah* by Abū Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī is a collection of Ibāḍī *āthār* from Basra in the 3rd/9th century.(2)

The Ibāḍī connection with the East continued until the beginning of the third century. A letter from Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl in Basra to Naṣr b. Sulaymān in Khurāsān has been preserved.(3) When Maḥbūb left Basra, the connection between the Ibāḍīs of North Africa, the Mashāriqah, and the people of Basra broke off. This may have happened because of the Nukkār of North Africa.(4)

Ibn al-Nadīm provides a list of Ibāḍī scholars and their works in his *Fihrist*, under the section on Khārijī theological and jurisprudential works. This list is useful for tracing the Ibāḍī scholars in Basra and Kufah, most of whom are not mentioned in the Ibāḍī sources.(5) According to this list, Ibāḍism in Basra was still alive in the 5th/11th century, however, it must have played a rather marginal role, because there is no sign of any influence on subsequent Ibāḍī works on *fiqh* or theology. The scholars listed are Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq, Ṣāliḥ al-Nājī, al-Haytham b. al-Haytham al-Nājī, Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥadīthī, and Abū Bakr al-Bardaʿī. The list also shows that they debated with the Muʿtazilī and Murjiʾī scholars, such as Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. Kāmil b. Ṭalḥah al-Khudarī,(6) who was a Muʿtazilī and a follower of Bishr al-Marīsī and wrote about the debate between him and Jaʿfar b. Ḥarb.(7) Other scholars are added by al-Masʿūdī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī in Kufah as well as Abū Mālik al-Ḥaḍramī,(8) and al-Ashʿarī also names Muḥammad b. Ḥarb.(9)

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(1) Al-Shammākhī, *Siyar*, 1: 144, 162; Ibn Sallām, *Badʾ al-islam*, 135; Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 74; *EI*[2], s.v. "Khalafiyya".

(2) *EI*[2], s.v. "Abū Ghānim Bishr b. Ghānim al-Khurāsānī"; al-Darjīnī, *Ṭabaqāt*, 1: 42. See also Wilkinson, "Ibāḍī Ḥadīth: An Essay on Normalization", 231-259; Cook, *Early Muslim Dogma*, 131; Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2: 602.

(3) Ibn Jaʿfar, *Jāmiʿ*, 3: 142.

(4) Ennami, *Studies in Ibāḍism*, 250.

(5) See Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 258-259. Cook wonders why these Ibāḍī names appear in Ibn al-Nadīm's and al-Ashʿarī's lists, but not in the Ibāḍī *Ṭabaqāt*. He suggests, in a private e-mail, that they may be Kufan Ibāḍīs. Al-Masʿūdī refers to ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī as being in Kufah; see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 5: 441-444.

(6) See al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 35.

(7) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt,* 329.

(8) Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 5: 441-444.

(9) Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, 35.

As the historical accounts(1) show, Khārijī rebellions in the East continued to break out from time to time. A number of them were successful for a few years and then disappeared. There were also several revolts in other regions, such as Sīstān, Khurāsān, and Kirmān. According to al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr the revolts occurred in the years 178/794, 252/866, 254/868, 255/868-869, 256/869, 263/876, 267/880, 272/885, 273/886, 279/892, 280/893, 281/894, 282/895, and 283/896, though Ibāḍīs are not likely to have been involved. Watt may be right in saying that there is a sharp contrast between the Khārijism of these unsuccessful rebels of the ʿAbbasid period and that of the earliest Khawārij. In short, the Khārijī revolts of the ʿAbbasid period are to be be classified as reactionary protests, which did not result in any real improvement, but which gave the participants the subjective sensation that they were achieving something.(2) In this case, it is possible to argue that the scholarly achievements of the Ibāḍī scholars were abandoned during the preceding political period – i.e. in the mid 3rd/9th century – and that they subsequently refrained from getting involved in Islamic theological issues. It becomes clear that the Ibāḍīs in Central Asia were still controlled by Basran scholars who represented a link with all the different areas up to the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, but that they then lost this control. It is also noteworthy that the Ibāḍīs in Oman and North Africa were involved in the political conflict in connection with the election to the imamate at the end of 3rd/9th century. This resulted in fierce theological debates, especially on the issues of *qadar*, *kufr*, and *īmān*. Thus they split into sub-sects, such as the Khalafīyah and the Nukkār in North Africa and the Rustāq and Nizwā schools in Oman. For these reasons the Ibāḍīs began to lose their position in the East to the doctrines of the Murjiʾah and the Shīʿah.(3) This might be one of the consequences of the new transformation of Ibāḍism, which was not successful in establishing the Ibāḍī imamate in this area and failed to unite the Ibāḍī communities under its auspices.

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(1) See Vaglieri, "Le vicende del Harigismo in epoca abbaside", 31-44.

(2) Watt, "Significance of Khārijism", 387.

(3) For further information on the spread of Murjiʾī thought in the East, see Madelung, "The Early Murjiʾa in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Spread of Hanafism", 32-39.

4.5 The Ibāḍī Settlements in the East

Let us now turn to Ibāḍī toponymy in the East. Existing settlements mentioned in classical Arabic geographies account for some of the settlements, but we need to investigate how long these existed. Inevitably, we must address the problems of the geographical literature on Ibāḍī and Khārijī settlements, bearing in mind that the Khawārij were not necessarily Ibāḍī.

We need not consider early settlements in or near the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq,(1) Oman, Yemen,(2) Ḥaḍramawt,(3) Shaḥar,(4) Bahrain,(5) and Suqutrā Island.(6) Ibn al-Mujāwir (7th/13th century) says that there were also Ibāḍīs in Syria, in Damascus and Ḥarrān.(7) In the course of his discussion of the Khārijī doctrine Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 438/1047) provides helpful information regarding their settlements: "This sect existed in different places, some of which are Oman, Sīstān, Azerbaijan, al-Sinn,(8) al-Buwāzīj, Karkh Jidān, Tall ʿUkbarā, Ḥizzā, and Shahrazūr."(9) In addition, Lewicki discusses the Ibāḍī groups outside Basra to show how Ibāḍī thought spread during the Islamic conquests.(10) Madelung and van Ess give detailed information on the Ibāḍīs in the East.(11)

4.5.1 Eastern Iran

We do not have a detailed description of the first settlement of the Muḥakkimah in eastern Iran. The *sīrah* of Sālim b. Dhakwān is thought to have been written in the 70s AH.(12) Van Ess suggests that it was

(1) According to Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 713), they spread throughout most of northern Iraq and the Kurdish mountains, as well as in Baghdad and Basra; Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 2: 279.

(2) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 37; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 1: 164.

(3) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 25; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 484.

(4) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 485.

(5) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 2: 279.

(6) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3: 227.

(7) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 2: 279.

(8) A town near Mosul in the province of al-Jazīrah; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 90.

(9) Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 329.

(10) *EI*[2], s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".

(11) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 54-76; Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft,* 2: 573-655.

(12) For further information about the *sīrah* of Sālim b. Dhakwān, see Chapter One.

composed in eastern Iran.[1] According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, Hanẓalah of Tamīm, descendants of ʿUrwah b. Udayyah (a leader of the first Muḥakkimah), migrated to eastern Iran. They crossed from Bahrain to Fārs during the Umayyad period and settled in Iṣṭakhr, where they owned property and lived in villages.[2] The Banū ʿUmārah, descendants of al-Julandā b. Karkar, were also migrants of Omani origin.[3] They had a castle that is known as al-Daykdān or Ibn ʿUmārah's Castle.[4] Al-ʿAwtabī writes of the pre-Islamic migration of the Omani Sulaymah b. Mālik to Kirmān. His descendants were known as the people of Mirbad, Banū Bilāl, and Banū al-Julandā b. Karkar. Al-Julandā was an ancestor of both al-Ṣafāq and the Haram.[5] According to Wilkinson, both the Omani sources and an independent non-Omani source make it clear that all the Azd dynasties in Persia, including the Ṣaffārids, were of Omani origin.[6] The essential point is that early settlements of Omanis were established in eastern Iran before the Arabs took control of it. The question that arises here is whether these settlements of the Omani Azd had an influence in this region and whether they adhered to the Muḥakkimah. Wilkinson maintains that they were a semi-autonomous people. Ibn Khaldūn describes the conflict between the Khawārij and the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān, Hurā, and Khurāsān in 253/866.[7]

In Fārs, the Ḥamzīyah (an Ibāḍī sub-sect) were active at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/957) mentions their existence in Iran.[8] Madelung identifies the Khawārij of eastern Iran as Ibāḍīs.[9] Interestingly, Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 690/1291) writes that Ibāḍīs lived in Hamadhān as well as in Iṣfahān, Dīr Lyān, Dakūk and Ārān.[10] Additionally, the island of Ibn Kawān (present-day Qashm Island,

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(1) Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 1: 172.

(2) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 141. On the other hand, Ibn Ḥazm attributes them to his brother Abū Bilāl; *Jamharat*, 212. Ibn Durayd emphasizes that Abū Bilāl did not have any progeny; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 167.

(3) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 141. J.C. Wilkinson discusses the relationship between these clans; "Suhar in the Early Islamic Period", 897.

(4) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 116.

(5) Al-ʿAwtabī, *Ansāb*, 2: 218.

(6) Wilkinson, "Suhar in the Early Islamic Period", 895.

(7) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 686.

(8) Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1: 239-240.

(9) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 76.

(10) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 279.

situated near the coast of Kirmān, opposite Rās Musandam) was, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166), still inhabited by Ibāḍīs in the 6th/12th century.(1)

Ibn Ḥawqal (d. 367/977) describes the province of Kirmān in the 4th/10th century: "...there are three Friday prayer mosques in the town of Bam, and the Khārijī mosque is in the *sūq* beside the house of Manṣūr b. Khurdīn, a prince or Qān of Kirmān. The Khawārij keep their treasury in the mosque."(2) They are described as thrifty yet wealthy people.(3) Madelung suggests that they were probably engaged in trade.(4) According to Wilkinson, there were Ibāḍīs in Kirmān until the 5th/11th century.(5) Madelung considers them to have been Khawārij, since according to the heresiographers they were ʿAjāridah.(6) The Khārijī groups (whom the heresiographers simply call al-Ḥarūrīyah) are described thus: "They are in the regions of Sīstān, Herat, and Khurāsān. They are numerous people; only God knows their number."(7) Crone and Zimmermann argue that the Khawārij on the border between Fārs and Kirmān, who engaged in revolts in the mid-ninth century, may well have been Ibāḍīs.(8)

4.5.2 Southern Iran and Sind

There are two factors that played major roles in the evolution of the settlements. The first factor is Omani maritime power.(9) In the first quarter of the 1st/7th century ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿAṣī al-Thaqafī received some naval support from Oman and Bahrain for his early campaign against the Persian coast.(10) There was an early attempt by the caliphal forces to occupy the region of Sind, but the Muslim ships were unsuccessful at sea(11) until they occupied the region

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(1) Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 62; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 1: 164; *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".

(2) On the city of Bam, see Le Strange, *Lands of The Eastern Caliphate*, 312.

(3) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 312; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 166.

(4) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 70.

(5) Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa," 279.

(6) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 62.

(7) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 63.

(8) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 286-287.

(9) Wilkinson, "Suhar in the Early Islamic Period", 897.

(10) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 420.

(11) Al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, dispatched his deputy in Oman, Badīl b. Tahfah al-Bajalī, to Daybul; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 422.

in 92/710.(1) However, during the first imamate of Julandā b. Masʿūd (r. 132-134/749-751), the Omanis mustered a sizeable navy, which they sent on an expedition to Suqutrā, and which imposed a *ṣulḥ* (treaty) on the Christians of that island.(2) Consequently, tensions surfaced between the imamate and the Christian Suqutrians when the Christians rebelled against Imam al-Ṣalt b. Mālik.(3) The second factor is the formal development of commercial maritime trading with the Indian Subcontinent, which occurred during the imamate of Ghassān b. ʿAbd Allāh (192-207/808-823), in conjunction with attempts to eliminate the Indian pirates (*bawārij al-Hind*).(4) However, al-Masʿūdī attributes this suppression of piracy to the ʿAbbasid government during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim.(5) Through the development of the Omani navy at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the imamate employed in the Omani army a force from the people of Daybul,(6) commanded by al-Maṭṭār al-Hindī.(7) The commercial trade with India led to the development of a relationship with non-Muslims. Muḥammad b. Maḥbūb includes Indians in *dār al-islām*, even though they were disbelievers.(8) The Omani trading ships, until the 7th/13th century, were still connected with the port of Daybul.(9)

This overview highlights the position of Oman in the Indian Ocean as well as the early relationship between the Omanis and the people of southern Iran and Sind after the rise of Islam. Al-Masʿūdī writes about the southern coast of Iran in the 4th/10th century (the province of Makrān) as the place of *shurāt*.(10) Lewicki suggests that the Khawārij living in the coastal region between Kirmān and Sind might have been Ibāḍīs.(11) Al-Iṣṭakhrī gives a clear picture of the Ibāḍī locations along the coast of Makrān and Sind: al-Tīz, Kīz, Dazak,(12) Rāsak, Rustāq al-Khurūj, and Rustāq Khurdhān, and all the inhabitants of these Rustāqs adhered

(1) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 421; *EI²*, s.v. "Daybul".
(2) Al-Kindī, A., *Muṣannaf*, 11: 145; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 332.
(3) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 166.
(4) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 123.
(5) Al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa-al-ishrāf*, 355.
(6) *EI²*, s.v. "Daybul".
(7) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 155.
(8) Ibn Jaʿfar, *Jāmiʿ*, 3: 73.
(9) Al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī khabar al-aqṭār*, 250.
(10) Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1: 239.
(11) *EI²*, s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".
(12) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 319; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 177.

to *shurāt*.[1] These settlements expanded southward. The *sīrah* of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd to the people of Manṣūrah, the capital of Sind in the 5th/11th century, documents that Ibāḍism still existed in this region.[2] According to Ibn al-Mujāwir, the Ibāḍīs were still settled in regions as far as Jawādir.[3] In addition, Yāqūt recounts that Quzdār (or Quṣdār), a town in Sind not far from Bust, was populated by Khawārij, specifically the Khalafīyah.[4] Al-Shahrastānī notes that most of the Khawārij of Kirmān and Makrān were Khalafīyah.[5] However, we need not accept the view that the Khawārij in these regions were Khalafīyah, even if Khalaf had appeared in this area around 179/795. Al-Baghdādī recounts that the Khalafīyah had conflicts with another Khārijī group, followers of Ḥamzah b. Adarak. Apparently, Khalaf was succeeded by Masʿūd b. Qays, who was attacked by Ḥamzah in a river valley and drowned in the river in the course of the fight. The Khalafīyah doubted Masʿūd's death[6] and then considered themselves to be in a time of *taqīyah*.[7] Thereafter, there is no further mention of the Khalafīyah, so they may have ceased to exist at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century.

4.5.3 Khurāsān and Sīstān

In the first centuries of Islam Sīstān was a refuge to the Khawārij, who launched their uprisings and incursions into the neighbouring Khurāsānī towns.[8] It seems that the Khawārij movement was linked with Sīstān from its beginning before the battle of Nahrawān.[9] Al-Balādhurī states that the first Khawārij missionary to Sīstān was a man from Tamīm, named either ʿĀṣim or Ibn ʿĀṣim.[10] Barthold suggests that there was a whole series of Khawārij disturbances in Sīstān and Bādhaghīs.[11] As described, many Khawārij lived in this region in the 4th/10th century and proudly established their sect. According to

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(1) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *al-Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 177.
(2) *EI*², s.v. "al-Ibāḍiyya".
(3) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 2: 279.
(4) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 341.
(5) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 203.
(6) Al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 78.
(7) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 66.
(8) Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran*, 70. See also *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 7.
(9) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 176.
(10) Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 387.
(11) Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 198.

geographical literature, Karkawya was a big town in this province, inhabited by Khawārij until the 7th/14th century. There were scholars and *fuqahāʾ*, described as uncompromising in prayer, fasting, and worship.(1) Not far from Karkawya, and three leagues from Zaranj, was a town named Kurūnak, or Karūn. Yāqūt adds that it was a pleasant place, full of good things, with a population of Khawārij and weavers.(2)

With regard to the popular movements of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, Barthold shows that chief among them were the Khawārij in Sīstān and the Shīʿah in Ṭabaristān, both of whom continued under the Sāmānids.(3) According to Ibn al-Mujāwir, Sīstān was still considered Ibāḍī until the 7th/13th century.(4) Crone and Zimmermann suggest that eastern Iran was home to Sīstānī Khawārij, whose extremist dissociation from the Ibāḍīs had repercussions even in Oman.(5) This might have been the case for a certain period of time concerning the people adherent to the Ibāḍī doctrine, because al-Shahrastānī adds that the Khawārij of Sīstān were ʿAjāridah who followed ʿAṭīyah's doctrine.(6)

From the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, there was an Ibāḍī group of considerable size in Khurāsān, as a result of the activity of the *ḥamalat al-ʿilm*.(7) Moreover, a number of Ibāḍī scholars were natives of this province. Since the Muhallabids during the Umayyad period were governors of Khurāsān, the Omani Azd joined them in Khurāsān and consequently adopted it as their base.(8) Contrary to Crone's and Zimmermann's view that there is no evidence that Ibāḍism had even reached Khurāsān by the 720s/1320s, it was engendered among the pupils and theologians. There is no substantive evidence for the conjecture that many Azd who accompanied Yazīd b. al-Muhallab to Khurāsān were Ibāḍī.(9) Conversely, al-Shaqṣī claims that Ṣuḥār al-ʿAbdī came from Khurāsān,(10) and Ibn Maddād and al-Saʿdī describe him as

(1) Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 3: 190.
(2) Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 342; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4: 458.
(3) Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 213.
(4) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 279.
(5) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 286.
(6) Al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa-al-niḥal*, 1: 187, 193; al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayna al-firaq*, 61.
(7) *EI*[2], s.v. "Ibāḍiyya".
(8) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 414, 415.
(9) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 286-287.
(10) Al-Shaqṣī, *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn,* 1: 625; Ibn Maddād, *Sīrah*, Manuscript, 18; Van Ess, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, 20-22.

Khurāsānī.(1) It is possible that he was an Arab who had participated in the conquest of eastern Iran and had been a governor of Herat for a while.(2) Ibn Jaʿfar (3rd/9th century), on the other hand, states that there was an Ibāḍī insurgent in Khurāsān at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, at the time of Abū ʿUbaydah.(3) As we can see, the region of Khurāsān sheltered the Ibāḍīs until the 7th/13th century.(4) Van Ess notes that the fact that we incidentally hear about the Ibāḍīs in Hirāt points to the end rather than the beginning of the 2nd/8th century.(5) Munīr b. Nayyir, in his *sīrah* to Imam Ghassān b. ʿAbd Allāh, writes that the Ibāḍī groups in Yemen and Khurāsān were the most important among the eastern Ibāḍī settlers.(6) Al-Maqrīzī recounts that Ḥamzah al-Khārijī rebelled in Khurāsān and then established bases in Kirmān,(7) despite the Ibāḍīs' dissociation from Ḥamzah. The geographical literature refers to the town of Karūkh as Ibāḍī. It was about ten leagues from Hirāt. Al-Iṣṭakhrī states that it was a pleasant place. It had a Friday prayer mosque in the Subaydān area for the people of *shurāt.* According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, the buildings of the town were made of sun-dryed bricks and were built on the foot of the mountains. Other *shurāt* towns were Astrībān, Mārābādh, Bāshān, Kūrān, Bā Asfrāz, Kāshkān, and Asfizār.(8)

Finally, let us turn to the other part of Khurāsān, the Khūjistān province in the Hirāt Mountains, where Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khūjistānī lived. He rebelled in Nīsābūr, and died in 264/877.(9) Al-Iṣṭakhrī reports that there were followers of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh in the province of Bādhaghīs, in the village of Fān, and that all of them were *shurāt*.(10) But there is little evidence that Aḥmad was an Ibāḍī, which also supports my view. Madelung argues that no information is available about his precise whereabouts, ethnic identity, or later fate after the 3rd/9th century.(11) However, the *sīrah* to the people of Khurāsān proves

(1) Al-Saʿdī, *Qāmūs*, 3: 312-315; Ibn Maddād, *Sīrah*, 5.
(2) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 287, fn. 110.
(3) Ibn Jaʿfar, *Jāmiʿ*, 1: 157.
(4) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 279.
(5) Van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 2: 601.
(6) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 247.
(7) Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 4: 180.
(8) Al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik wa-al-mamālik*, 267.
(9) See *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 178.
(10) Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 441; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2: 347; *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 180.
(11) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 74.

the existence of Ibāḍism in Khurāsān in the 4th/10th century. According to the *sīrah*, the Ibāḍīs received their knowledge from Naṣr b. Sulaymān, who died at the end of the 3rd/9th century, which implies that his pupils were still active in the 4th/10th century. The commercial routes may have improved the relationship between Oman and Central Asia. Ibn al-Mujāwir describes these routes: Sohar was the starting point for caravans to Kirmān, thence to Sīstān, and finally to Khurāsān, which was the main centre for the caravans to Central Asia.(1)

4.5.4 Al-Jazīrah, Azerbaijan, and Khwārazm

The Khawārij of the northern regions came from Mosul and northern Mesopotamia, at different points in time. Al-Balādhurī recounts that there were three kinds of residents in Mosul: Khawārij, merchants, and burglars.(2) The Azd were already residing among the Arab tribes of Shaybān and Bakr,(3) and a substantial population of Azdīs from Oman lived alongside an Ibāḍī community, while most of the local Khawārij must have been Ṣufrīyah.(4) Those who rebelled in the early ʿAbbasid period were not Ibāḍī but Ṣufrīyah.(5) Van Ess notes that the Ibāḍīs who joined Abū Ḥamzah al-Shārī's (d. 130/748) force in the Arabian revolt with Azd Zahrān were not from Mosul but from Basra; Abū Ḥamzah moved to Mosul after the revolt had been suppressed.(6) However, the original Ibāḍīs of these settlements belonged to the Omani community, as indicated by records about Māzin b. Ghaḍūbah, who was the first Omani to embrace Islam. He had two grandsons, Aḥmad b. Ḥarb and ʿAlī b. Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥayyān. The latter was born in Azerbaijan in 175/791 and was a scholar of *ḥadīth*. He died in Mosul in 256/878. The other grandson, Aḥmad, was born in 174/790 and was also a scholar of *ḥadīth*, and he died in Aḍana in 263/876.(7) It seems that some Ibāḍī scholars tried to contact Ḥamzah al-Kūfī, who was excommunicated by Abū ʿUbaydah on account of his views on *qadar*.

(1) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 2: 284.
(2) Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 3: 281.
(3) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 70.
(4) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim b. Dhakwān*, 285-286.
(5) For the exact year mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*.
(6) Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 285.
(7) See Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 4: 269; ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, 9: 28-29.

Ḥamzah then moved to Mosul, where he tried to convert some Ibāḍīs. In the 4th/10th century there was an Ibāḍī scholar from Mosul, Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī, who might have had some contact with several Omani scholars. Al-Shaqṣī states that he lived in Oman, in Izki.(1) Ibn Maddād identifies Abū ʿAbd Allāh Hāshim b. ʿAbd Allāh both as Khurāsānī and Khwārazmī.(2) It seems that the scholars subsequently disappeared from this region, including even the pupils of the Ibāḍī scholar Abū Yazīd al-Khwārazmī.

According to al-Masʿūdī, Ibn al-Shādhulīyah rebelled with the support of Kurds. From the end of the Umayyad period, Mosul and al-Jazīrah were generally centres of the Ṣufrīyah.(3) Hence we cannot judge whether those *shurāt* were Ibāḍī; the historical records do not differentiate between the Khawārij and thus provide little evidence. Ibn Khaldūn notes that some of the Kurds of Azerbaijan, Syria, and Mosul were Christians and Khawārij who still preserved dissociation from ʿUthmān and ʿAlī.(4) Bukhārā also seems to have been under Khārijīte control in the 5th/11th century, as it was seized by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Khārijī, whom Barthold, on account of his surname, views as a Khārijī leader and possibly a Jacobite.(5) According to Ibn Khaldūn, in the 7th/13th century, the Khwārazm Shāh eradicated the Khawārij from Khwārazm.(6) On the other hand, Ibn al-Mujāwir notes that in the 7th/13th century Ibāḍīs existed in Azerbaijan.(7)

To sum up, as Madelung argues, the Ibāḍī community was always oriented towards centres outside Iran.(8) By way of the available information it is possible to prove the existence of the Ibāḍī community in the regions east of Mesopotamia during the medieval centuries.

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(1) Al-Shaqṣī, *Manhaj al-ṭālibīn*, 1: 601.

(2) Ibn Maddād, *Sīrah*, 6.

(3) The leader of the Ṣufrīyah, al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays al-Shaybānī, rebelled against Marwān II, and found support in Azerbaijan. Then they continued to thrive in the ʿAbbasid period, as we have seen in the previous section. Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 6: 63.

(4) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 7: 230.

(5) Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 222.

(6) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 5: 39.

(7) Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 278.

(8) Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran*, 75.

CHAPTER FIVE

REREADING THE SIYAR ON OMAN'S SOCIO-POLITICAL HISTORY

5.1 The Socio-Political Situation in Oman during the Period of the *Siyar*

We now come to a third aspect of our study, the historical, social, and political background.(1) The *siyar* were written during the interregnum in the imamate of Oman, which lasted approximately one and a half centuries, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century, when the Khwārazmī *sīrah* was written, to the middle of the 5th/11th century, when Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd al-Yaḥmadī wrote.

The collapse of the first imamate in Oman in 280/892 happened because the Omanis brought about the downfall of their own state, through the intransigence of their *ʿulamāʾ* and the unleashing of tribal *ʿaṣabīyah*. All of this was encouraged by the ʿAbbasids and Omanis themselves. In the aftermath of the disastrous events, Oman's maritime commerce was destroyed.

During the first forty years of interregnum Oman began to disintegrate into its constituent parts, while attitudes and alliances developed. This period also witnessed the emergence of the Omani dynasties and their rise to prominence supported by the rule of foreign authorities. According to Ibn Khaldūn, there was Banū Sāmah b. Lūʾī b. Ghālib's state, which was under ʿAbbasid suzerainty while they dominated the imamate state in 280/893. Although the Banū Sāmah regarded themselves as members of the Quraysh clan, Quraysh genealogists deny this claim.(2) The first ruler was Muḥammad b. al-

(1) What happened in Oman in the following period can be traced in the classical sources: Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil;* Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*. See also Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 88-133.

(2) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 198; Ibn al-Mujāwir, *Tārīkh al-mustabṣir*, 281. The coins were minted in Oman by a number of apparently unconnected individuals. Aḥmad b. al-Khalīl (ca. 300/912) and ʿAbd al-Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (ca. 316/928) are named on coins, but we do not yet have evidence as to whether they were Banū Sāmah successors or not. Was Aḥmad b. Hilāl,

Qāsim al-Sāmī, who sought the assistance of the ʿAbbasid governor al-Muʿtaḍid. Banū Sāmah's rule did not extend over the whole of Oman, but was limited to the coastal region. Al-Sālimī describes this forty-year period of interregnum in Oman as an occupation on the part of a tyrannical ruler.(1) Later, Oman was defeated in 305/917 by the Carmathian leader Abū Ṭāhir al-Janābī.

The rulers who followed were Carmathians (317-375/929-985). Their invasion caused devastation; however, they granted the population a considerable degree of internal autonomy.(2) According to Ibn Khaldūn, they came back as invaders in several campaigns on different occasions. Rather than allowing the ʿAbbasids to collect the tribute, the Carmathians collected the tribute for themselves. These developments had doctrinal repercussions, because the Friday sermon now expressed the Carmathian leanings toward the Shīʿī Fatimids rather than the Sunnī ʿAbbasids.(3) Their primary concern was to exact a tribute from the Omanis. They appointed an agent at Nizwā.(4) At about this time, Yūsuf b. Wajīh's dynasty was born. Ibn Wajīh succeeded in wresting control in Oman and minted coins in his own name.(5) Ibn al-Athīr describes him as Amir of Oman.(6) He was appointed by the ʿAbbasids, although his relationship with Baghdad became turbulent.(7)

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who was governor of Oman during al-Muʿtaḍid's reign in 305/917, a member of Banū Sāmah? Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1: 233; Andrew Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring in the Indian Ocean* (London, 1972), 22.

(1) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 269. A coin has been found that was minted in Oman in 289/902 by Ṣaffārids, who were the rulers of Kirmān and southern Iran. The coin is in the name of Muḥammad b. Hārūn. The Saffarids perhaps fled to Oman in the Sāmī era. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring*, 22.

(2) Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 98.

(3) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 198.

(4) Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 96, 101.

(5) Williamson clarifies the confusion over the reigns of the Wajīhid rulers, using numismatic evidence. Coins of Yūsuf b. Wajīh span the period 317/929 to 332/944. Only two coins of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf have survived, dated 333/945 and 335/947. Coins of ʿUmar b. Yūsuf span the period 341/952 to 350/961. Williamson, *Sohar and Omani Seafaring*, 25; A. D. H. Bivar and S. M. Stern, "The Coinage of Oman under Abū Kālījār the Buwayhid"; al-Salimi, "The Wajīhids in Oman".

(6) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6: 292.

(7) Ibn Miskawayh records that the ʿAbbasid minister Abū ʿAlī b. Muqla ordered Yūsuf b. Wajīh to deal with Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Khuṣībī, the former minister of the ʿAbbasids, and Abū Sulaymān Yaḥyā, specifically, to exile and imprison them in Oman. Yūsuf ignored his instructions. Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, 1: 323.

Nevertheless, Ibn Wajīh tried to intervene in the caliph's affairs in Baghdad by leading two unsuccessful campaigns to seize Basra. The first campaign took place in 331/942, and the second in 341/952, when he entered into an alliance with the Carmathians against the Buyids.(1) We have no information regarding the ethnicity or the genealogy of Ibn Wajīh, and neither local nor universal histories state the precise date of his conquest. Miles holds that the Turkish Seljuk army supported him. It seems that he was appointed by Baghdad and continued as Amir of Oman until he was murdered by his slave Nāfiʿ in 342/953.(2) Miles points out that the Omanis preferred the Carmathian suzerainty to the yoke of the ʿAbbasids, because they not only began to recover from their former political predominance, but enjoyed a temporary respite from the business of war and were thus able to turn to the arts and other peacetime pursuits, and to look forward to a fresh tide of prosperity.(3) The rule of the Persian Buyids in Oman witnessed the emergence of the Mukramids (ca. 390-443/1000-1040). Bosworth argues that they were presumably a local Omani family, appointed as governors in coastal Oman by the Persian Buyids with their capital at Sohar.(4) The reign of the Mukramids shows clearly that Oman was divided into coastal and internal regions. The former was under Mukramid authority and the latter was controlled by the imamates. As regards cultural influence, Omani dynasties that were backed by the Buyids had several links with Persia. For example, the poet Mihyār al-Daylamī praised the Mukramid amir,(5) and the poet Abzūn al-ʿUmānī, of Persian origin, fled to Oman to join a Buyid campaign.(6) Ibn Khaldūn records that the king of the dynasty of Julandānīs in 428/1035 was Zakarīyāʾ b. ʿAbd al-Malik from the Azd clan in Qalhāt. Their rule acknowledged allegiance to Ibāḍism.(7)

Despite foreign rule, Ibāḍī ideology helped to create Omani unity and is a characteristic feature of this period. The Ibāḍīs were in a state of interregnum and were losing control of the country due to the chaotic

(1) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 6: 292, 340; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, 2: 46, 144.

(2) Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 102. There is no mention of him as either an Omani or a member of the Banū Sāmah; see Vine and Casey-Vine, *Oman in History*, 173.

(3) Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 98.

(4) Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*, 112; al-Salimi, "Makramid rule in Oman", 247-253.

(5) See Al-Daylamī, *Dīwān*, 35, 170, 241, 320.

(6) Hilāl, "Shāʿir min ʿUmān", 1: 104-135.

(7) Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 199.

conditions of rule and the schism between the Nizwā and Rustāq schools. Yet Ibāḍism persisted in Oman. The period under consideration here was particularly important for the crystallization of the Omani state.[(1)] The ʿ*ulamāʾ* used several strategies to protect Ibāḍī authority in Oman.

Firstly, the political structure of the imamate changed from *ẓuhūr* (manifestation) to *difāʿ* (defence), which permitted the Omanis to form a unified ideology to protect themselves against foreign forces. The ʿ*ulamāʾ* were never silent, electing several imams over the forty years of the imamate's interregnum. The *sīrah* of Abū Qaḥṭān chronicles their names and reveals that these imams followed each other in rapid succession, but all failed to establish their authority.[(2)] The appointment of Imam Abū al-Qāsim Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh in 320/930 essentially revived the imamate. The new imam managed to take control of Oman from Ibn Wajīh and repossess many cities in the interior,[(3)] thereby confining Ibn Wajīh's influence to the coastal districts. Then Imam Abū al-Qāsim Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh was succeeded by Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd (r. 328-342/939-953), until the imamate was restored by al-Khalīl b. Shādhān and Rāshid b. Saʿīd. According to Wilkinson, this time was marked by a great resurgence of Ibāḍī activities associated with the revival of the Omani imamate, following the eviction of the Buyids in the middle of the 5th/11th century and the attempts of the *ʿulamāʾ* to keep their ideology afloat in the following period of accelerated disintegration.[(4)]

Secondly, the attempt to restore the imamate helped to instigate several revolts against foreign rulers. These revolts arose frequently. In the year 331/942 there was a revolt led by Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd and his leader Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī al-Muʾthir, and later, in 342/953, the imam lost his authority.[(5)] Ibn al-Athīr reports that in

(1) See Peterson, "Oman's Odyssey: From Imamate to Sultanate", 2.

(2) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 81; al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 272-273; Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman," 23-25.

(3) See the *sīrah* of Imam Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh to Yūsuf b. Wajīh; al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 289. We do not know exactly how far his rule extended, but he seems to have taken control over most of the interior of Oman, because he died in Manāqī village, near Rustāq, and his capital was Nizwā; *Tuḥfah*, 1: 275. Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman," 25; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, 29; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1: 234.

(4) Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa", 285.

(5) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 283; Miles, S., *Country and Tribes*, 103.

363/972 there was a revolt in Oman led by Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid, and another revolt in 442/1050 under the leadership of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd (Ibn Rāshid).[1] These revolts helped to preserve Ibāḍī ideology, and the Omanis became united under one imam. In the meantime, Oman formed a distinctive political and geographical unit, which was by no means isolated.[2] The role of the *ʿulamāʾ* is illustrated by Abū al-Muʾthir al-Ṣalt b. Khamīs, who gave orders to burn the houses of people who had supported the Carmathians in Oman, under the pretext that "they will be unable to return or settle there again."[3] Omani compilations during this period consider non-Ibāḍī rulers as tyrants and unjust sultans.[4] The concept of the tyrannical sultan is connected here with a ruler considered to be a non-Omani colonist. Local rulers during foreign occupation were regarded as supporters, hirelings, or governors of invading states. Thus the compilations do not include them in the chronology of Omani rulers.[5]

Thirdly, maritime trading increased significantly, despite the numerous invasions by ʿAbbasid, Carmathian, and Seljuk forces.[6] When Baghdad became the commercial metropolis of the Middle East in the early ʿAbbasid period, the ports of al-Ubullah and Sīrāf, and to a lesser extent the ports of Oman, became entrepôts of trade with the East.[7] While the Omani coast was still controlled by foreign rulers, most of the shipping activities took place on the East African coast. Al-Idrīsī notes that boats came from the East Indies to the Sofala coast. The East African people themselves seemed to always employ Omani vessels.[8] Wilkinson suggests that, depending on the regime in power, the Omanis more or less benefited from this trade, which also included on a considerable scale black slave dealing down the East African coast.[9] During the period following the collapse of the first imamate, other Muslims ruled the Omani

(1) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 57, 8: 55.

(2) Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa", 277.

(3) *Al-Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 1: 360.

(4) The concept of tyrannical sultans, as used in the compilations, *siyar*, and historical accounts during this time, can be seen very clearly in al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥawārī, *Jāmiʿ*, 1: 45.

(5) See the secondary Omani sources on the historical chronologies: Sirḥān, "Annals of Oman", xv; Ibn Ruzayq, *History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman*, cxxv; al-Sālimī, M., *Nahḍat al-aʿyān*, 66.

(6) Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government", 91.

(7) Bathurst, "Maritime Trade and Imamate Government", 91.

(8) Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, 1: 61.

(9) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 43.

coast.[1] By the time the Omanis were able to reestablish their imamate and expand overseas in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the strategic geographic position achieved great importance, whereas up to the 5th/11th century the Gulf hinterland had been the most important position.[2] The Fatimids in Egypt immediately developed new maritime routes and began a full-scale development of the western empire. These routes were established between Egypt and the Atlantic Ocean in an attempt to avoid Byzantine-controlled waters in the Mediterranean.[3] As a result, there was growing commercial activity with Nubia and Red Sea trade in the hands of Abyssinian merchants. They served as intermediaries for the eastern Roman Empire, as they attempted to conquer Yemen and Hijaz and tried to dominate commerce with India.[4] Wilkinson suggests that even though the reunited Omanis may have had some impact on raids in non-Muslim India, and were actively proselytizing in both the Indus valley area and Kilwa, their influence in East Africa was temporary.[5] These connections enabled an expansion of commercial activity along the Red Sea-Southwest Arabian axis, so that the hegemony of the Persian Gulf in the Indian Ocean trade began to be challenged. The rising importance of the Omani coast as an intermediary trading area, namely in Sohar, Qalhāt, Muscat, and Raysūt, together with the decline of Basra and the collapse of Sīrāf in the Gulf, resulted in greater power for the merchants of southwestern Arabia and the Gulf.[6] On the other hand, the Chinese had developed ship-building and navigation techniques during Sung times, as a consequence of which large junks were able to sail not only into the Gulf, but also into the Red Sea ports. These junks also crossed the Indian Ocean directly from Sumatra to East Africa.[7] Another factor affecting the general picture of Oman, in Wilkinson's view, is that India became a major centre of trade after the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in India after 588/1192.[8]

(1) It is possible to see the expanded role of Oman in the Indian Ocean at various periods, e.g. al-Julandā b. Masʿūd (132-134/749-751), Ghassān b. ʿAbd Allāh (192-208/807-823); see Wilkinson, "Suhar in the Early Islamic Period"; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 42.

(2) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 43.

(3) Lewis, A., "Mediterranean Maritime Commerce", 13; Lowick, "Trade Patterns on the Persian Gulf in Light of Recent Coin Evidence", 231.

(4) Lewis, A., "Mediterranean Maritime Commerce", 9-10.

(5) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 42.

(6) Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa", 283.

(7) Zhang, Jun-Yan, "Relations between China and the Arabs in Early Times", 98-101.

(8) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 43.

This historical overview shows that the move of Maḥbūb b. al-Raḥīl from Basra to Oman made Oman the centre of Ibāḍism, and Oman began to attract considerable attention. However, at the end of the 3rd/9th century both of the Ibāḍī imamates in North Africa and Oman came to an end. The first imamate represented the unification of Oman, more or less closely associated with the Ḥaḍramī Ibāḍī state,[1] while the second imamate was restored by Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd, who reinvigorated the ideology of the imamate to inaugurate a new ruling era. He expanded his authority to al-Aḥsāʾ and Hagar in the western part of the Gulf to bring the rebel clans of Nahd and ʿAqīl under his control.[2] He also turned both toward Ḥaḍramawt, to support the Ibāḍī leader Abū Isḥāq, and eastward, to reestablish his rule over *arḍ al-Hind* in Manṣūrah. Wilkinson thinks that what primarily distinguishes the second imamate in the 5th/11th century from the first imamate in the 3rd/9th century is that by the time of the second imamate Ibāḍī doctrine had fully matured.[3]

5.2 Chronology of Imams in Oman

Ibn al-Athīr mentions the events of 363/974, when Oman revolted against the Buyids shortly after Muʿizz al-Dawlah's death, and when the Omanis elected an imam named Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid and a leader called Ward b. Ziyād.[4] Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid's war with al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAbd Allāh is mentioned in the *sīrah* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī. Al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAbd Allāh was the leader of a Buyid military campaign to Oman. According to the *sīrah*, however, Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid was appointed to the imamate twice, and Abū al-Ḥasan is doubtful of the first imamate of Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid.[5] Al-Sālimī, however, denies Ibn al-Athīr's account for two reasons: 1) Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid (455-472/1062-1088) was the son of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd (425-455/1033-1062); 2) Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid is not mentioned in the Omani sources of this time.[6] Now, this issue leads us to re-examine the chronology of the Omani imams. At first sight, when we compare Ibn al-Athīr's and Ibn Miskawayh's accounts with the *sīrah* of

(1) Wilkinson, *Origins*, 70.
(2) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 304; Ibn Khaldūn notes that Nahd's clan settled in Hagar (Bahrain); Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 4: 198.
(3) Wilkinson, "Oman and East Africa", 285.
(4) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 7: 57.
(5) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 2: 5.
(6) Al-Sālimī, ʿA., *Tuḥfah*, 1: 315.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī, it appears that we should accept the accounts of Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Miskawayh rather than al-Sālimī's suggestion. When we try to reconcile these statements, we see that al-Bisyāwī lived between the middle of the 4th/10th century and the beginning of the 5th/11th century, so it is impossible that he lived during the reign of Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid. In his *sīrah* al-Bisyāwī reports that he lived during the imamate of Rāshid b. al-Walīd (328-342/949-953) and that his teacher (*shaykh*) Ibn Barakah had imposed a payment on him in connection with an endowment.(1) Furthermore, in 2002 during the restoration work on the Bahlā Castle, a jar wrapped in clothes was discovered in the front side of the castle's mosque. The jar contained silver coins that were minted in Oman, others in Persia and Iraq. What is even more interesting, there are silver coins minted by Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd and al-Khalīl b. Shādhān.(2)

Most of the Omani historical compilations and the Omani *siyar* of this period lack clarity, and we have some difficulty in accepting their chronology of imams. Of course, the confusion seems to have arisen because Omanis remembered Ḥafṣ as the son of an imam called Rāshid, without knowing who this Rāshid was.(3) The author of *Kashf al-ghummah* mentions that Ḥafṣ was the son of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd,(4) and possibly the Omani historians followed him in this chronology.

The Omani historian al-Baṭṭāshī (d. 1999) has another hypothesis regarding the chronology of Omani imams during this period, based on the *sīrah* to Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān, calling upon him to follow in the footsteps of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd.(5) Upon examining the historical events in the imamate,(6) he makes some suggestions that can help us to revise the chronology.

Firstly, al-Baṭṭāshī holds that Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid was the brother of the grandfather of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd and denies that Ḥafṣ was the son of Rāshid b. Saʿīd. His version of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd's genealogy is: Rāshid b. Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāshid b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Yaḥmadī. So, according to this account, ʿAbd Allāh, who was the grandfather of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd, was actually the brother of Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid.

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(1) Al-*Siyar wa-al-jawābāt*, 2: 5.
(2) Al-Salimi, "Coins of the Omani imams during the Buyid Period", 181-188.
(3) Crone and Zimmermann, *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 336.
(4) Sirḥān, *Annals of Oman*, 31.
(5) Al-Baṭṭāshī, *Itḥāf*, 1: 5.
(6) Al-Baṭṭāshī, *Itḥāf*, 1: 551-566.

Secondly, in examining the *sīrah* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī, he shows that Imam Ḥafṣ was elected twice to the imamate. Al-Bisyāwī's *sīrah* explains that the first election of Imam Ḥafṣ could have been repeated, or that only the second one can be considered as valid. Ibn al-Athīr notes, as we saw above, that the revolt was in 363/974, when the Buyids forced him to take refuge in Yemen.(1)

Thirdly, al-Baṭṭāshī suggests that the imamate of al-Khalīl b. Shādhān (407-425/1016-1033) came into being later than that of Rāshid b. Saʿīd, while the first imam was Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid – the de facto imam from 353/964 until the Buyids defeated him in 363/974. The second imam was Rāshid b. Saʿīd, who died in 445/1053. The last imam was al-Khalīl b. Shādhān, from 447/1055 until 474/1081. He argues that the earlier historians in Oman may have made a copying error by confusing 407/1016 with 447/1055. This argument seems convincing and can be used as the basis for relating these imams to the Ibāḍī leader in Ḥaḍramawt, Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī, and to the wars in which he was involved with the Sulayhids, who were supported by the Fatimids.(2)

Al-Ḥāmid, on the other hand, denies Abū Isḥāq's relevance,(3) because the Sulayhid state existed during the years 439-532/1047-1138, and it is uncertain whether al-Khalīl's reign is correctly dated between 407 and 425/1016 and 1033. Nevertheless, in his poetry Abū Isḥāq sought help from both Imam Rāshid and Imam al-Khalīl. It is impossible to accept his poetry as evidence, since it is a request for help from Imam al-Khalīl against the Sulayhids before their state was actually founded in Ḥaḍramawt. Likewise, Bāwazīr argues that al-Sālimī might have made an error regarding the date of al-Khalīl's death.(4)

Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī seems to have been a deputy under the Omani authority before he gained independence in Shawwāl 454/1062. Further evidence comes from another recently published Ibāḍī juridical work from Ḥaḍramawt — *K. al-Dalāʾil wa-al-ḥujaj* by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh

(1) Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 4: 57.
(2) See al-Ḥaḍramī, *Dīwān Sayf al-Naqqād*; al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt*, 1: 379.
(3) See al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīkh Ḥaḍramawt*, 1: 269-271.
(4) Bāwazīr, *Maʿālim tārīkh al-jazīrah al-ʿarabīyah*, 253. Crone and Zimmermann argue that al-Sālimī obviously did not know this manuscript (the *sīrah* of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bisyāwī), despite his comments; see *Epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, 335. Nevertheless, al-Sālimī mentions the *sīrah* in his *Tuḥfah*, using the classical chronology of Oman's imams. Ibn al-Athīr's text about Imam Ḥafṣ remains unclear; *al-Kāmil*, 4: 57. A comparison between Omani historians and Ibn al-Athīr shows this gap; *Tuḥfah*, 1: 315. Ibn Miskawayh confirms that ʿAḍud al-Dawlah sent al-Muṭahhar b. ʿAbd Allāh in 364/972; *Tajārib*, 2: 360.

al-Ḥaḍramī (d. c. 475/1082). He was the nephew of Abū Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (see above), who lived during the reign of Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd al-Yahmadī. According to this work Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh visited Oman in 452/1060 at the time of Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān.(1) The fact that these two Abū Isḥāqs shared the same name could account for the confusion in Omani sources over which one was alive during the reign of which imam, i.e. Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd and Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān. Later sources may have seen both Abū Isḥāqs as being one and the same person.

Alternatively, Wilkinson reports that Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid succeeded his father (Rāshid b. Saʿīd) in 445/1053 without election, and that the Ḥaḍramī imam broke away and recognized the first two imams in the one *miṣr*.(2) Thus there appears to be a strong correlation between al-Baṭṭāshī's hypothesis and the relevance of Abū Isḥāq, as can be gathered from the Sulayhid appeal to the Fatimids that took place in Yemen in 453/1061. This led to some kind of confrontation between Omanis and Fatimids over control of the southern Arabian Peninsula. This confrontation demonstrates the extent of Ibāḍī influence in Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen, and it also emphasises the role of the Sulayhids in eliminating the existence of Ibāḍism in Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt.

We can now postulate the following chronology:

1- Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd (328-342)
2- Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid (353-363)
3- Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd (425-445)
4- Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān (447-474)
5- Imam Rāshid b. ʿAlī (475-513)

The previous chronology was:

1- Imam Rāshid b. al-Walīd (328-342)
2- Imam al-Khalīl b. Shādhān (407-425)
3- Imam Rāshid b. Saʿīd (425-445)
4- Imam Ḥafṣ b. Rāshid (445-475?)
5- Imam Rāshid b. ʿAlī (475-513)

This revised chronology could signify a tremendous transformation in the understanding of this period, as it highlights a new vision of Omani history and emphasizes the importance of foreign literary sources to supplement Omani literature.

(1) Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, *al-Dalāʾil wa-al-ḥujaj*, 298.
(2) Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 21.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

To conclude this study, it seems appropriate to recapitulate the main points of the preceding chapters in order to summarize the results. The two avenues of investigation concerned:

(1) the relation between internal and external aspects of Omani historical sources relevant to our subject, i.e. between Ibāḍism as thought and the interaction of Ibāḍism with Omani policies; and

(2) the relation between the individual and common aspects of the *siyar* in question.

The examination of these aspects has revealed a remarkable unity of understanding. Although Ibāḍī thought changed as it developed, we have been able to identify the common features in Ibāḍī and Omani history.

First and foremost, the Omani *siyar* manuscripts are in need of restoration. Their poor condition has hitherto gone unnoticed, because few researchers have consulted them and no one has conducted a thorough investigation. Moreover, the manuscripts are still scattered and fragmented. From the time of the emergence of *siyar* in Oman, scholars showed a great interest in writing *siyar* as a primary reference for religious matters. This interest is believed to have influenced their style and content, which gradually shifted from religious to historical. They had originally been considered as a religious reference, but subsequently they began to record relevant historical facts. The *siyar* were associated with political movements in Oman. This immense intellectual influence on the *siyar* finds expression in their coverage of religion or politics or a combination of both. This influence eventually resulted in a new literary form concerned with political issues during the Omani political transitions. Such political participation and intellectual influence can be traced back to the Arabic literature of the Jāhilī, Umayyad and ʿAbbasid periods.

In this study we examined the texts with the aim of analysing the above-mentioned elements. It is not necessary to define the *siyar* themes by a few narrow aspects, but they can be grouped according to these elements. Indeed, the use of these elements as a basis for our investigation could be called into question by some researchers concerned with further aspects.

This study attempts to demonstrate a wide range of perspectives for a full-fledged study of *siyar*. If traditional text authentication methods are excluded (although such methods contribute to the understanding of some historical facts), attention can be drawn to two characteristic narrative techniques employed in each *sīrah* (which could be employed in any text in classical Arabic): 1) exegetical, in which *narrative* extracts are embedded; and 2) parabolic, in which the *narration* itself is the framework for frequent, if not continuous, allusion to scripture. The relation between these two types cannot be seen as one of simple inversion. In the exegetical style, scriptural extracts, however discrete and truncated, exhibit the canonical text; in the parabolic style, scriptural allusions are only implicit, exhibiting diction and imagery but not the verbatim text.

The texts examined in this study have been treated as collective, rather than as individual documents. Once the *siyar* had been edited and translated, we concentrated on three key aspects: authenticity, common elements of the *siyar*, and finally the progression of the Ibāḍī movement in Asia. The discussion of Ibāḍī tradition in Asia has been limited to historical evidence, without involving neither other disciplines, such as literature, nor any specialized studies on the Ibāḍī doctrine. Throughout this study of *siyar* we have tried to relate all the information supplied to the development of the Ibāḍī doctrine in Asia and the historical relations between Oman and Asia. There is a general agreement throughout these texts in terms of time and location. The chronological events from the 2nd/8th to the 5th/11th century show that *siyar* liberally quoted passages extracted from previous Ibādite documents. On the other hand, the Ibāḍī texts were widely spread throughout Ibāḍī protectorates. All this information, however, is still open and debatable.

These are the main arguments dealt with in the course of the investigation; but there are still matters that require further consideration. In our chronological study of *siyar* we have omitted

reference to certain aspects in the evolution of the Ibāḍī doctrine and the connection between Oman's history and the *siyar*. This study ultimately aims at understanding the *siyar* through adopting modern methodologies of analysing historical documents and at providing qualitative rather than quantitative data.

The hypotheses proposed in this study are not necessarily unique, but an attempt has been made to re-investigate them, with their validity being thoroughly examined. Firstly, using Wilkinson's findings we have traced the factors that shaped Omani history and have tried to determine to which degree these factors – the imamate, maritime trading and tribalism – affected the shaping of this era (from the 10th to the 11th century). Secondly, we have revised the chronology of Omani imams during this era. Thirdly, the study has dealt with the Ibāḍī settlements in Asia which in fact were affected chiefly by three factors:

(1) the internal crisis in Oman and frequent campaigns after the end of the first imamate in 280/892;
(2) the changing routes of maritime trading from the 4th/10th to the 5th/11th century; and
(3) the capture of the eastern Islamic empire by Mongol forces and the collapse of trading in Central Asia.

Principally, all these factors affected Oman's political attitude and were significant in encouraging Omani adherence to Ibāḍī doctrine. Similarly, the Ibāḍī attitude reflects the Omani political agenda. Nevertheless, the Omanis never demonstrated that they harboured any intent of expansion or that they had any desire of propagating their beliefs. Subsequently, Islam experienced a great transformation, though the collapse was similar to the collapse of rationalism in Islamic thought in general. The significance of this transformation within Ibāḍism is indicated in literary aspects of the *siyar* texts which are sometimes difficult to differentiate on the level of content and structure. The need for correspondence/transmission forced Omani writers to develop a style of expressing themselves, which has made their texts more comprehensible regarding of the basics of culture and religion in Oman.

The *siyar* are products of *ʿulamāʾ* who were not isolated, but rather prospered through contact with the outside world. The *siyar* spread Omani influence through trade caravans and maritime routes. Consequently, the Omanis came to rule the Ibāḍīs in the East and

familiarized them with the *Mashāriqah* school. At the same time, the Omanis began to react to foreign occupation by identifying their sense of unity with Ibāḍism, and it was from then on that they began to call themselves Ibāḍīs and formalize their sect and theology. In spite of the disasters that accompanied this period, the Omanis were fortunate to live in an era in which both jurisprudence and Ibāḍī theology flourished, with many illustrious scholars, such as Ibn Jaʿfar (d. around 270), Ibn Barakah (d. around 360), al-Kudamī (d. around 355), and al-Bisyāwī (d. around 370). The *ʿulamāʾ* initiated a new period of evolution and formulation of legislative policy for the imamate.

How was the political setting of Oman related to Ibāḍism in the East? As yet, we lack convincing evidence to answer this question. There are several possibilities to affirm a relationship. The second imamate lasted less than a century, before the country was occupied by the Daylams and Seljuks. Particularly in the centuries after the second imamate had collapsed, the Hurmuzi kingdom emerged, and its ruler attempted to control the Gulf trade. This attempt resulted in the destruction of most of the eastern coast of Oman. Furthermore, it weakened communication between the Ibāḍī parties in the East, and we may assume that the Omani *ʿulamāʾ* emigrated from the coast to the interior to establish a new base. As a result, the ʿAbbasid state became feeble, and the meaning of setting up an Islamic state changed. A greater impulse developed to divide the world into *dār al-ḥarb* (the land of unbelievers) and *dār al-salām* (the land of the Muslims). Each new state tried to establish its own doctrinal identity.

The Nabhānī state in Oman, although they were Ibāḍīs, changed the political system from election of imams to hereditary succession. Consequently, the *ʿulamāʾ* did not accept them, and this resulted in a conflict between the Nabhānīs and the *ʿulamāʾ* for approximately five centuries. Hence this period has been considered to be a dark age. However, it was important for the Ibāḍīs, as it gave them time to organize a state and develop their ideology and doctrine. Moreover, it was an era of radical changes to Islamic rule, since adopted doctrines began to be imposed on Islamic rulers, for example the Shīʿī doctrine of the Safavids in Iran, the Sunnī doctrine in Central Asia, and the Zaydī doctrine of the Mutawakkilīs in Yemen. After this doctrinal impact, maritime trading from the Gulf to the Red Sea flourished anew. The

Nabhānīs and Omanis started trading from the Indian coasts to East Africa at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This suggests that Ibāḍism in the East, for the most part, was affected by the collapse of the Omani imamate. Yet the rulers of the Gulf and the Omani coast prevented communication between Omani *ʿulamāʾ* and the Ibāḍīs in the East, so that the *ʿulamāʾ* turned towards the East African coast and initiated a new era of Ibāḍī missionaries.

This brings us to the end of Ibāḍism in Central Asia. There is important evidence in Ibn al-Mujāwir's accounts that in the 7th/13th century the Ibāḍīs in Central Asia adopted Shāfiʿism, whereas the Kilwan (East Africa) people abandoned Shāfiʿism and adopted the Ibāḍī doctrine. This shift of Islamic doctrines seems to reflect a pattern of assimilation and adoption of doctrine when there is contact, but abandonment and shifting to other doctrines when contact is lost.

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Places, regions, countries

Peoples, dynasties, tribes, ethnic, religious and other groups

Terms

الكشّافات

- كشّاف الآيات القرآنيّة
- كشّاف الأحاديث والآثار
- كشّاف القواعد الفقهيّة
- كشّاف الأشعار
- كشّاف الأعلام
- كشّاف الأماكن
- كشّاف الأقوام والقبائل والمِلل والنِّحَل
- كشّاف المصطلحات

كشّاف الآيات القرآنيّة

الآية	رقم السورة والآية	رقم الصفحة
﴿وَقَالُوا لَنْ تَمَسَّنَا النَّارُ إِلاَّ أَيَّامًا مَعْدُودَةً قُلْ أَتَّخَذْتُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ عَهْدًا فَلَنْ يُخْلِفَ اللَّهُ عَهْدَهُ أَمْ تَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ مَا لاَ تَعْلَمُونَ﴾	(٢: ٨٠)	١٠١
﴿فَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّار هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾	(٢: ٨١)	٩٩
﴿بَلَى مَنْ كَسَبَ سَيِّئَةً وَأَحَاطَتْ بِهِ خَطِيئَتُهُ فَأُولَئِكَ أَصْحَابُ النَّار هُمْ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ﴾	(٢: ٨١)	٩٩، ١٠٠
﴿... إِنِّي جَاعِلُكَ لِلنَّاسِ إِمَامًا...﴾	(٢: ١٢٤)	١١٤
﴿... وَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَإِنَّمَا هُمْ فِي شِقَاقٍ فَسَيَكْفِيكَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ﴾	(٢: ١٣٧)	٦١
﴿كَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا فِيكُمْ رَسُولاً مِنْكُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْكُمْ آيَاتِنَا وَيُزَكِّيكُمْ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُعَلِّمُكُمْ مَا لَمْ تَكُونُوا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾	(٢: ١٥١)	١٠٤
﴿تَبَرَّأَ الَّذِينَ اتُّبِعُوا مِنَ الَّذِينَ اتَّبَعُوا﴾	(٢: ١٦٦)	٤٦
﴿وَإِذَا قِيلَ لَهُمُ اتَّبِعُوا مَا أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ قَالُوا بَلْ نَتَّبِعُ مَا أَلْفَيْنَا عَلَيْهِ آبَاءَنَا أَوَلَوْ كَانَ آبَاؤُهُمْ لاَ يَعْقِلُونَ شَيْئًا وَلاَ يَهْتَدُونَ﴾	(٢: ١٧٠)	١٠١
﴿... فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى...﴾	(٢: ٢٥٦)	١٠٢
﴿هُوَ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْكَ الْكِتَابَ مِنْهُ آيَاتٌ مُحْكَمَاتٌ هُنَّ أُمُّ الْكِتَابِ وَأُخَرُ مُتَشَابِهَاتٌ فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ زَيْغٌ فَيَتَّبِعُونَ مَا تَشَابَهَ مِنْهُ ابْتِغَاءَ الْفِتْنَةِ وَابْتِغَاءَ تَأْوِيلِهِ وَمَا يَعْلَمُ تَأْوِيلَهُ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ...﴾	(٣: ٧)	١١٥
﴿... إِلاَّ أَنْ تَتَّقُوا مِنْهُمْ تُقَاةً...﴾	(٣: ٢٨)	٥٧
﴿كَيْفَ يَهْدِي اللَّهُ قَوْمًا كَفَرُوا بَعْدَ إِيمَانِهِمْ وَشَهِدُوا أَنَّ الرَّسُولَ حَقٌّ وَجَاءَهُمُ الْبَيِّنَاتُ وَاللَّهُ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ	(٣: ٨٦-٨٩)	٣٢

رقم الصفحة	رقم السورة والآية	الآية
		الظَّالِمِينَ * أُولَئِكَ جَزَاؤُهُمْ أَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ لَعْنَةَ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا لاَ يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمُ الْعَذَابُ وَلاَ هُمْ يُنْظَرُونَ * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَابُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ ذَلِكَ وَأَصْلَحُوا...﴾
٩٤	(٣: ٨٥)	﴿وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الإِسْلاَمِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ﴾
٩٥	(٤: ١٧)	﴿إِنَّمَا التَّوْبَةُ عَلَى اللَّهِ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السُّوءَ بِجَهَالَةٍ ثُمَّ يَتُوبُونَ مِنْ قَرِيبٍ فَأُولَئِكَ يَتُوبُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلِيمًا حَكِيمًا﴾
٩٥	(٤: ١٨)	﴿وَلَيْسَتِ التَّوْبَةُ لِلَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ السَّيِّئَاتِ حَتَّى إِذَا حَضَرَ أَحَدَهُمُ الْمَوْتُ قَالَ إِنِّي تُبْتُ الآنَ وَلاَ الَّذِينَ يَمُوتُونَ وَهُمْ كُفَّارٌ أُولَئِكَ أَعْتَدْنَا لَهُمْ عَذَابًا أَلِيمًا﴾
٦١	(٤: ٢٠)	﴿... فَإِنْ أَسْلَمُوا فَقَدِ اهْتَدَوْا...﴾
٩٣	(٤: ٢٧)	﴿... وَيُرِيدُ الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الشَّهَوَاتِ أَنْ تَمِيلُوا مَيْلاً عَظِيمًا﴾
٣٤	(٤: ٢٩-٣٠)	﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لاَ تَأْكُلُوا أَمْوَالَكُمْ بَيْنَكُمْ بِالْبَاطِلِ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَكُونَ تِجَارَةً عَنْ تَرَاضٍ مِنْكُمْ وَلاَ تَقْتُلُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِكُمْ رَحِيمًا * وَمَنْ يَفْعَلْ ذَلِكَ عُدْوَانًا وَظُلْمًا فَسَوْفَ نُصْلِيهِ نَارًا وَكَانَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرًا﴾
١١١، ١١٤	(٤: ٥٩)	﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ...﴾
١٠٥	(٤: ٥٩)	﴿... فَإِنْ تَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي شَيْءٍ فَرُدُّوهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ تُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَومِ الآخِرِ ذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ وَأَحْسَنُ تَأْوِيلاً﴾
٥٦	(٤: ٩٣)	﴿وَمَنْ يَقْتُلْ مُؤْمِنًا مُتَعَمِّدًا فَجَزَاؤُهُ جَهَنَّمُ خَالِدًا فِيهَا وَغَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَعَنَهُ وَأَعَدَّ لَهُ عَذَابًا عَظِيمًا﴾

الآية	رقم السورة والآية	رقم الصفحة
﴿وَمَنْ يُشَاقِقِ الرَّسُولَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَبَيَّنَ لَهُ الْهُدَى وَيَتَّبِعْ غَيْرَ سَبِيلِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ نُوَلِّهِ مَا تَوَلَّى وَنُصْلِهِ جَهَنَّمَ وَسَاءَتْ مَصِيرًا﴾	(٤: ١١٥)	١٠٩
﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ لاَ يَغْفِرُ أَنْ يُشْرَكَ بِهِ وَيَغْفِرُ مَا دُونَ ذَلِكَ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَمَنْ يُشْرِكْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدْ ضَلَّ ضَلاَلاً بَعِيدًا﴾	(٤: ١١٦)	٩٨،٩٤
﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ آمَنُوا ثُمَّ كَفَرُوا ثُمَّ ازْدَادُوا كُفْرًا لَمْ يَكُنِ اللَّهُ لِيَغْفِرَ لَهُمْ وَلاَ لِيَهْدِيَهُمْ سَبِيلاً... إِنَّ الْمُنَافِقِينَ فِي الدَّرْكِ الأَسْفَلِ مِنَ النَّارِ وَلَنْ تَجِدَ لَهُمْ نَصِيرًا * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَابُوا...﴾	(٤: ١٣٧-١٤٦)	٣٦
﴿... لاَ تَتَّخِذُوا الْكَافِرِينَ أَوْلِيَاءَ مِنْ دُونِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَتُرِيدُونَ أَنْ تَجْعَلُوا لِلَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ سُلْطَانًا مُبِينًا﴾	(٤: ١٤٤)	٥٨
﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قَوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ شُهَدَاءَ لِلَّهِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَوِ الْوَالِدَيْنِ وَالأَقْرَبِينَ إِنْ يَكُنْ غَنِيًّا أَوْ فَقِيرًا فَاللَّهُ أَوْلَى بِهِمَا فَلاَ تَتَّبِعُوا الْهَوَى أَنْ تَعْدِلُوا وَإِنْ تَلْوُوا أَوْ تُعْرِضُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا﴾	(٤: ١٥٣)	١٠٨
﴿... وَلاَ تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ...﴾	(٥: ٢)	٥٣
﴿... وَلَمْ يُصِرُّوا عَلَى مَا فَعَلُوا وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ﴾	(٥: ١٧)	٩٥
﴿... فَلِمَ يُعَذِّبُكُمْ بِذُنُوبِكُمْ بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ...﴾	(٥: ١٨)	٩٤
﴿... نَحْنُ أَبْنَاءُ اللَّهِ وَأَحِبَّاؤُهُ...﴾	(٥: ١٨)	٩٤
﴿... بَلْ أَنْتُمْ بَشَرٌ مِمَنْ خَلَقَ يَغْفِرُ لِمَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيُعَذِّبُ مَنْ يَشَاءُ...﴾	(٥: ١٨)	٩٨
﴿قَرَّبَا قُرْبَانًا فَتُقُبِّلَ مِنْ أَحَدِهِمَا وَلَمْ يُتَقَبَّلْ مِنَ الآخَرِ قَالَ لأَقْتُلَنَّكَ قَالَ إِنَّمَا يَتَقَبَّلُ اللَّهُ مِنَ الْمُتَّقِينَ﴾	(٥: ٢٧)	٩٥
﴿وَأَنَّ هَذَا صِرَاطِي مُسْتَقِيمًا فَاتَّبِعُوهُ وَلاَ تَتَّبِعُوا السُّبُلَ فَتَفَرَّقَ بِكُمْ عَنْ سَبِيلِهِ ذَلِكُمْ وَصَّاكُمْ بِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَتَّقُونَ﴾	(٦: ١٥٣)	١٠٥

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٩٦	(٦: ١٥٨)	﴿هَلْ يَنْظُرُونَ إِلاَّ أَنْ تَأْتِيَهُمُ الْمَلاَئِكَةُ أَوْ يَأْتِيَ رَبُّكَ أَوْ يَأْتِيَ بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ يَوْمَ يَأْتِي بَعْضُ آيَاتِ رَبِّكَ لاَ يَنْفَعُ نَفْسًا إِيمَانُهَا لَمْ تَكُنْ آمَنَتْ مِنْ قَبْلُ أَوْ كَسَبَتْ فِي إِيمَانِهَا خَيْرًا...﴾
١٠٤	(٧: ٥٢)	﴿وَلَقَدْ جِئْنَاهُمْ بِكِتَابٍ فَصَّلْنَاهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ هُدًى وَرَحْمَةً لِقَوْمٍ يُؤْمِنُونَ﴾
٣٤	(٩: ٢-٣)	﴿فَسِيحُوا فِي الأَرْضِ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِي اللَّهِ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ مُخْزِي الْكَافِرِينَ * وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الأَكْبَرِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ فَإِنْ تُبْتُمْ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ فَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّكُمْ غَيْرُ مُعْجِزِي اللَّهِ وَبَشِّرِ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِعَذَابٍ أَلِيمٍ﴾
٣٦	(٩: ٣-٥)	﴿وَأَذَانٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ إِلَى النَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحَجِّ الأَكْبَرِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ بَرِيءٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ وَرَسُولُهُ فَإِنْ تُبْتُمْ فَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ وَإِنْ تَوَلَّيْتُمْ... فَإِنْ تَابُوا وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلاَةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ فَخَلُّوا سَبِيلَهُمْ...﴾
٦١	(٩: ٢٩)	﴿... حَتَّى يُعْطُوا الْجِزْيَةَ عَنْ يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ﴾
٩٩-١٠١	(٩: ٦٨)	﴿وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الْمُنَافِقِينَ وَالْمُنَافِقَاتِ وَالْكُفَّارَ نَارَ جَهَنَّمَ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا هِيَ حَسْبُهُمْ وَلَعَنَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ مُقِيمٌ﴾
٦٣	(٩: ٧٧)	﴿فَأَعْقَبَهُمْ نِفَاقًا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ إِلَى يَوْمِ يَلْقَوْنَهُ بِمَا أَخْلَفُوا اللَّهَ مَا وَعَدُوهُ وَبِمَا كَانُوا يَكْذِبُونَ﴾
١٠٥	(١٠: ٣٢)	﴿... فَمَاذَا بَعْدَ الْحَقِّ إِلاَّ الضَّلاَلُ فَأَنَّى تُصْرَفُونَ﴾
٩٧	(١١: ١٠٣-١٠٤)	﴿... ذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ مَجْمُوعٌ لَهُ النَّاسُ وَذَلِكَ يَوْمٌ مَشْهُودٌ * وَمَا نُؤَخِّرُهُ إِلاَّ لأَجَلٍ مَعْدُودٍ﴾
٩٧	(١١: ١٠٥)	﴿... لاَ تَكَلَّمُ نَفْسٌ إِلاَّ بِإِذْنِهِ فَمِنْهُمْ شَقِيٌّ وَسَعِيدٌ﴾

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﴿فَأَمَّا الَّذِينَ شَقُوا فَفِي النَّارِ لَهُمْ فِيهَا زَفِيرٌ وَشَهِيقٌ * خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالأَرْضُ إِلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾	(١١: ١٠٦-١٠٧)	٩٧-٩٩
﴿خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا مَا دَامَتِ السَّمَاوَاتُ وَالأَرْضُ إِلاَّ مَا شَاءَ رَبُّكَ...﴾	(١١: ١٠٦-١٠٧)	٩٧-٩٩
﴿وَلاَ تَرْكَنُوا إِلَى الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا فَتَمَسَّكُمُ النَّارُ وَمَا لَكُمْ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَوْلِيَاءَ ثُمَّ لاَ تُنْصَرُونَ﴾	(١١: ١١٣)	٩٣،١١١
﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ...﴾	(١٢: ١٠٠)	١٠٨
﴿... إِنَّ النَّفْسَ لأَمَّارَةٌ بِالسُّوءِ إِلاَّ مَا رَحِمَ رَبِّي إِنَّ رَبِّي غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾	(١٢: ٥٣)	٩٣
﴿مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ إِيمَانِهِ إِلاَّ مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالإِيمَانِ وَلَكِنْ مَنْ شَرَحَ بِالْكُفْرِ صَدْرًا فَعَلَيْهِمْ غَضَبٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ... لاَ جَرَمَ أَنَّهُمْ فِي الآخِرَةِ هُمُ الْخَاسِرُونَ، ثُمَّ إِنَّ رَبَّكَ لِلَّذِينَ هَاجَرُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا فُتِنُوا ثُمَّ جَاهَدُوا وَصَبَرُوا إِنَّ رَبَّكَ مِنْ بَعْدِهَا لَغَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾	(١٦: ١٠٦-١١٠)	٣٦
﴿... إِلاَّ مَنْ أُكْرِهَ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالإِيمَانِ...﴾	(١٦: ١٠٦)	٥٧
﴿... وَلاَ تُطِعْ مَنْ أَغْفَلْنَا قَلْبَهُ عَنْ ذِكْرِنَا وَاتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ وَكَانَ أَمْرُهُ فُرُطًا﴾	(١٨: ٢٨)	١١٤
﴿وَإِنْ مِنْكُمْ إِلاَّ وَارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَى رَبِّكَ حَتْمًا مَقْضِيًّا، ثُمَّ نُنَجِّي الَّذِينَ اتَّقَوْا وَنَذَرُ الظَّالِمِينَ فِيهَا جِثِيًّا﴾	(١٩: ٧١-٧٢)	٩٩
﴿وَإِنِّي لَغَفَّارٌ لِمَنْ تَابَ وَآمَنَ وَعَمِلَ صَالِحًا ثُمَّ اهْتَدَى﴾	(٢٠: ٨٢)	٩٤
﴿إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَأَنَا رَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُونِ﴾	(٢١: ٩٢)	١٠٥
﴿وَالَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْتُوا بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَاءَ فَاجْلِدُوهُمْ ثَمَانِينَ جَلْدَةً وَلاَ تَقْبَلُوا لَهُمْ شَهَادَةً أَبَدًا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ * إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ تَابُوا مِنْ بَعْدِ ذَلِكَ وَأَصْلَحُوا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾	(٢٤: ٤)	٣٥

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﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ جَاءُوا بِالإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٌ مِنْكُمْ لاَ تَحْسَبُوهُ شَرًّا لَكُمْ بَلْ هُوَ خَيْرٌ لَكُمْ لِكُلِّ امْرِىءٍ مِنْهُمْ مَا اكْتَسَبَ مِنَ الإِثْمِ وَالَّذِي تَوَلَّى كِبْرَهُ مِنْهُمْ لَهُ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ... وَلَوْلاَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ وَرَحْمَتُهُ مَا زَكَى مِنْكُمْ مِنْ أَحَدٍ أَبَدًا وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يُزَكِّي مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ﴾	(٢٤: ١١-٢١)	٣٤
﴿وَلاَ يَأْتَلِ أُولُوا الْفَضْلِ مِنْكُمْ وَالسَّعَةِ أَنْ يُؤْتُوا أُولِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْمَسَاكِينَ وَالْمُهَاجِرِينَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ وَلْيَعْفُوا وَلْيَصْفَحُوا أَلاَ تُحِبُّونَ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ وَاللَّهُ غَفُورٌ رَحِيمٌ﴾	(٢٤: ٢٢)	٣٥
﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ الْغَافِلاَتِ الْمُؤْمِنَاتِ لُعِنُوا فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالآخِرَةِ وَلَهُمْ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾	(٢٤: ٢٣)	٣٥
﴿وَإِذَا دُعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ إِذَا فَرِيقٌ مِنْهُمْ مُعْرِضُونَ * وَإِنْ يَكُنْ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ يَأْتُوا إِلَيْهِ مُذْعِنِينَ * أَفِي قُلُوبِهِمْ مَرَضٌ أَمِ ارْتَابُوا أَمْ يَخَافُونَ أَنْ يَحِيفَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَرَسُولُهُ بَلْ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ * إِنَّمَا كَانَ قَوْلَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذَا دُعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِ لِيَحْكُمَ بَيْنَهُمْ أَنْ يَقُولُوا سَمِعْنَا وَأَطَعْنَا وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ﴾	(٢٤: ٤٨-٥١)	٦٣
﴿... وَأُوتِيَتْ مِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ وَلَهَا عَرْشٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾	(٢٧: ٢٣)	١١٢
﴿وَلَمَّا وَرَدَ مَاءَ مَدْيَنَ وَجَدَ عَلَيْهِ أُمَّةً مِنَ النَّاسِ يَسْقُونَ...﴾	(٢٨: ٢٣)	٩٩
﴿... وَمَنْ أَضَلُّ مِمَنِ اتَّبَعَ هَوَاهُ بِغَيْرِ هُدًى مِنَ اللَّهِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لاَ يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾	(٢٨: ٥٠)	٣٧
﴿أَفَمَنْ زُيِّنَ لَهُ سُوءُ عَمَلِهِ فَرَآهُ حَسَنًا فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ يُضِلُّ مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَيَهْدِي مَنْ يَشَاءُ فَلاَ تَذْهَبْ نَفْسُكَ عَلَيْهِمْ حَسَرَاتٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ بِمَا يَصْنَعُونَ﴾	(٣٥: ٨)	٩٤

الآية	رقم السورة والآية	رقم الصفحة
﴿وَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَهُمْ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ لاَ يُقْضَى عَلَيْهِمْ فَيَمُوتُوا وَلاَ يُخَفَّفُ عَنْهُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِهَا كَذَلِكَ نَجْزِي كُلَّ كَفُورٍ﴾	(٣٥: ٣٦)	١٠٣
﴿كِتَابٌ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ إِلَيْكَ مُبَارَكٌ لِيَدَّبَّرُوا آيَاتِهِ وَلِيَتَذَكَّرَ أُولُوا الأَلْبَابِ﴾	(٣٨: ٢٩)	٩٣
﴿وَمَا يَسْتَوِي الأَعْمَى وَالْبَصِيرُ وَالَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَلاَ الْمُسِيءُ قَلِيلاً مَا تَتَذَكَّرُونَ﴾	(٤٠: ٥٨)	١١٢
﴿شَرَعَ لَكُمْ مِنَ الدِّينِ مَا وَصَّى بِهِ نُوحًا وَالَّذِي أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ وَمَا وَصَّيْنَا بِهِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَمُوسَى وَعِيسَى أَنْ أَقِيمُوا الدِّينَ وَلاَ تَتَفَرَّقُوا فِيهِ...﴾	(٤٢: ١٣)	١٠٥
﴿أَفَرَأَيْتَ مَنِ اتَّخَذَ إِلَهَهُ هَوَاهُ وَأَضَلَّهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى عِلْمٍ وَخَتَمَ عَلَى سَمْعِهِ وَقَلْبِهِ وَجَعَلَ عَلَى بَصَرِهِ غِشَاوَةً فَمَنْ يَهْدِيهِ مِنْ بَعْدِ اللَّهِ أَفَلاَ تَذَكَّرُونَ﴾	(٤٥: ٢٣)	٩٤
﴿تُدَمِّرُ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ بِأَمْرِ رَبِّهَا...﴾	(٤٦: ٢٥)	١١٢
﴿لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ...﴾	(٤٨: ١٨)	١١١
﴿... لَتَدْخُلُنَّ الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ آمِنِينَ مُحَلِّقِينَ رُؤُوسَكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ...﴾	(٤٨: ٢٧)	١٠٠
﴿وَإِنْ طَائِفَتَانِ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اقْتَتَلُوا فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا فَإِنْ بَغَتْ إِحْدَاهُمَا عَلَى الأُخْرَى فَقَاتِلُوا الَّتِي تَبْغِي حَتَّى تَفِيءَ إِلَى أَمْرِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ فَاءَتْ فَأَصْلِحُوا بَيْنَهُمَا...﴾	(٤٩: ٩)	٥٩
﴿قَالَتِ الأَعْرَابُ آمَنَّا قُلْ لَمْ تُؤْمِنُوا وَلَكِنْ قُولُوا أَسْلَمْنَا وَلَمَّا يَدْخُلِ الإِيمَانُ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ...﴾	(٤٩: ١٤)	١١٢
﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا يَقُولُونَ لإِخْوَانِهِمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَئِنْ أُخْرِجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجَنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلاَ نُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِنْ قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنْصُرَنَّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ﴾	(٥٩: ١١)	١٠٣

رقم الصفحة	رقم السورة والآية	الآية
٩٣	(٥٧: ٢٠)	﴿اعْلَمُوا أَنَّمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا لَعِبٌ وَلَهْوٌ وَزِينَةٌ وَتَفَاخُرٌ بَيْنَكُمْ وَتَكَاثُرٌ فِي الأَمْوَالِ وَالأَوْلاَدِ كَمَثَلِ غَيْثٍ أَعْجَبَ الْكُفَّارَ نَبَاتُهُ ثُمَّ يَهِيجُ فَتَرَاهُ مُصْفَرًّا ثُمَّ يَكُونُ حُطَامًا وَفِي الآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ شَدِيدٌ وَمَغْفِرَةٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانٌ وَمَا الْحَيَاةُ الدُّنْيَا إِلاَّ مَتَاعُ الْغُرُورِ﴾
١٠٢	(٦٠: ٤)	﴿... إِنَّا بُرَآءُ مِنْكُمْ وَمِمَّا تَعْبُدُونَ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ كَفَرْنَا بِكُمْ...﴾
١٠٤	(٦٠: ١٣)	﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لاَ تَتَوَلَّوْا قَوْمًا غَضِبَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ قَدْ يَئِسُوا مِنَ الآخِرَةِ كَمَا يَئِسَ الْكُفَّارُ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ الْقُبُورِ﴾
١١١	(٦٨: ٣٥-٣٦)	﴿أَفَنَجْعَلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ كَالْمُجْرِمِينَ * مَا لَكُمْ كَيْفَ تَحْكُمُونَ﴾
١١٤	(٧٦: ٢٤)	﴿... وَلاَ تُطِعْ مِنْهُمْ آثِمًا أَوْ كَفُورًا﴾

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الطبعة الأولى

بيروت ١٤٣٧ هـ - ٢٠١٦ م

طُبع على نفقة

وزارة الثقافة والأبحاث العلمية التابعة لألمانيا الاتحادية

بإشراف المعهد الألماني للأبحاث الشرقية في بيروت التابع لمؤسسة ماكس فيبر

طُبع في مطابع الدار العربية للعلوم ناشرون، بيروت – لبنان

يوزَّع

خارج الدول العربية: كلاوس شفارتس فيرلاغ – برلين

ISBN 978-3-87997-699-7

في الدول العربية: دار الفارابي للنشر والتوزيع – بيروت

ISBN 978-614-432-472-1

إِبَاضِيّة شرق بِلاد ما بيْن النّهْرين وإِيران وآسيا الوُسطى والهند في العصر الإِسلامي الأوّل

عبد الرّحمن السّالمي

بيروت ١٤٣٧ هـ - ٢٠١٦ م

توزيع

دار الفارابي

النشرات الإسلامية

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في العصر الإسلامي الأول

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